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IN MEMORY OF

GERTRUDE SCHOEPPERLE LOOMIS

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MEDIEVAL STUDIES

IN MEMORY OF

GERTRUDE SCHOEPPERLE LOOMIS

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PREFACE

The editor hopes that the conditions under which this book has been printed will in part excuse the long delays in its publication and the typographical defects it may contain. That it is not even tardier in its appearance is due to the unfailing assistance of Professor Blondheim, who has more than once acted as intermediary between editor and printer Mlle Colette Renié and Mlle M.-L. Arrivot deserve the sincere gratitude of both editor and contributors for the painstaking care with which they have checked up the proofs and overseen the latter stages of printing.

The editor wishes to thank the contributors for their response to his request, and wishes to mention with equal gratitude Father Andrew O'Kelleher, who would have contributed if he had been in a position to continue his studies, and Professor H. S. V. Jones, who was obliged to withdraw his paper on account of the repeated postponement of the publication of these studies.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

GERTRUDE SCHOEPPERLE LOOMIS

Born: Oil City, Pennsylvania, July 15, 1882. Father, Vinzens Schœpperle, of Rœtenbach, Germany. Mother, Elizabeth Klein, of Kittanning, Pennsylvania.

Education: Oil City High School.

Wellesley College, 1899-1903. Durant Scholar, T. Z. E., Scribblers' Club. B. A.

Wellesley College, 1904-1905. M. A. Thesis, "Friedrich Nietzsche, Versuch einer Darstellung und Kritik seiner Lebenanschauung."

Radcliffe College, 1905-1907; June 1909. Edward Austin Scholarship. Harvard Annex Scholarship. Paton Prize. Ph. D. Thesis, "Studies on the Origin of the Tristan Romance."

University of Munich. Winter semester, 1907-8. Ottendorfer Memorial Fellowship. Women's Educational Association Fellowship.

University of Paris, April 1908-April 1909; December 1909-September 1911. Research on Origins of Tristan Romance under Professors Ferdinand Lot, Joseph Bédier, D'Arbois de Jubainville. Alice Freeman Palmer Fellow, 1909-1910. Élève titulaire de l'École des Hautes Études.

Dublin School of Irish Learning, summer 1909.

Munster Training College, summer 1909.

Professional Career : University of Illinois, Instructor in English, 1911-1912, 1913-1914. Associate in English, 1914-1919.

New York University, Instructor in German, 1912-1913.

Vassar College, Assistant Professor of French, 1919-1921.

Married to Roger Sherman Loomis, August 27, 1919.

Died at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., of peritonitis, December 11, 1921.

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Betha Colum Cille, Urbana, Ill., 1916. In collaboration with A. O'Kelleher.

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SONO IL DE ORTU WALWANII E L'HISTORIA MERIADOCI OPERA DI UN MEDESIMO AUTORE ?

PIO RAJNA

J. Douglas Bruce non immaginava certamente di rendere agli studi di storia letteraria un servizio di prim' ordine col pubblicare due romanzi di materia brettone in veste latina [1], che fin presso al termine del secolo XIX erano rimasti poco men che negletti : il De ortu Walwanii di un codice Cottoniano del Museo Britannico, e l'Historia Meriadoci [2], pervenutaci, oltre che in esso, in un manoscritto della Bodleiana di

1. *De ortu Waluuanii* : *An Arthurian Romance now first edited from the Cottonian Ms. Faustina B. VI., of the British Museum*, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. XIII, VI della « Nuova, Serie « (1898), pp. 365-456. — Vita Meriadoci : *An Arthurian* ecc., ib., vol., rispettivamente, XV e VIII (1900), pp. 326-414. Do in appendice una serie di correzioni ai due testi.

2. Sul Vita Meriadoci, scritto in fronte nel codice di Londra e al quale il Bruce si attiene deve manifestamente prevalere il titolo che vuol considerarsi come parte integrante del Prologo : « Incipit prologus R. in historia Meriadoci, regis Kambrie. Memoratu dignam » ecc.

Oxford, che il Douglas Bruce ignorò, e nel quale è contenuta altresì la ben più breve, ma congenere, *Narratio de Arthuro Rege Britanniae et Rege Gorlagon lycantropo*[1]. Il valore dei due testi fu accresciuto notevolmente dal Bruce medesimo coll' arretrarne la composizione dai primordi del secolo quattordicesimo al secondo quarto del decimoterzo; ma esso diventa ancora di gran lunga maggiore, se con Margaret Shove Morriss ci persuadiamo che siano opera di Roberto di Torigny[2], il quale, morto nel 1186, non può di sicuro aver atteso a composizioni siffatte nell'età senile. Problema intricato e arduo la relazione cronologica coll' *Historia Regum Britanniae* di Goffredo di Monmouth. Dal metterci il piede mi astengo qui rigorosamente. Ne discorsi nella seconda di due conferenze sulle fasi più arcaiche e recondite del ciclo brettone, lette nel maggio del 1923 davanti a un pubblico parigino.

Divenuti a ogni modo importantissimi i due romanzi, sono divenute importanti le singole questioni che li concernono. Di una di esse intendo qui di occuparmi. Giova porre in sodo, se, come già il Bruce ritenne indubitato[3] e la Shove Morriss riaffermò[4], essi siano propriamente dovuti a un autore medesimo. Chè l' « evidenza » di cui il Bruce parla, non apparirà tale

1. Questa fu edita, con un'amplissima dissertazione illustrativa, da George Lyman Kittredge : *Arthur and Gorlagon* ; nel vol. VIII, p. 149-275, degli *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* della Universita Harvard, Boston, 1903, e in estratto. Nella prima pagina il Kittredge indica anche l'Historia Meriadoci, della quale del resto si sarrebbe potuto conoscere l'esistenza fino dal 1862, consultando il Catalogo a stampa dei codici bodleiani, e precisamente il primo fascicolo della parte quinta.

2. *The Authorship of the « De ortu Waluuanii » and the « Historia Meriadoci » : in Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of Amer.*, vol. XXIII, XVI, pp. 599-645.

3. *Publ.* ecc., XV (N. S. VIII), 338.

4. *Publ.* ecc., XXIII (N. S. XVI), 599.

agli occhi di tutti e l'argomentazione comparativa da cui essa dovrebbe resultare, esaminata attentamente, sembrerà difettosa a parecchi. Moviamo da questo esame, e proseguiamo poi per conto nostro il confronto.

C'è realmente affinità fra le descrizioni della preparazione del fuoco greco nel De ortu (pp. 412-15), e la lessatura delle carni senza pentola nel Meriadocus p.350). L'autore interrompe in ambedue i romanzi la narrazione, là di una battaglia navale, qui della vita nel bosco, per farci una descrizione didattica particolareggiata, che saremmo ben lontani dall' aspettarci. Ma che le due descrizioni manifestino entrambe tendenza al burlesco, credo ben contestabile. La lessatura per mezzo di due fosse comunicanti, nella maggiore e superiore delle quali l'acqua sia riscaldata con pietre roventi, per poi esser fatta passare attraverso a uno stretto condotto nell' altra in cui stiano le carni da cuocere, pare a me un sistema ingegnoso, che realmente possa essere stato in uso per parte di chi era costretto a starsene nelle selve. Rilevo un particolare. La fossa minore non è soltanto rivestita di frondi sotto ed intorno, ma è anche coperta d'erba. Essa viene così a rassomigliare non poco alle cassette isolanti, tanto largamente e utilmente usate durante la guerra mondiale nelle cucine europee a risparmio di combustibile. Affinità vedo pertanto colla strada-ponte o col ponte-strada, costrutto da Gundebaldo *mira arte et industria* per passare attraverso a una grande palude ; ma questa strada, o ponte che voglia dirsi, appartiene del pari al Meriadocus (p. 386), non già al De ortu. Colla preparazione del fuoco greco nel De ortu, ci sarebbe dunque solo a patto che questa pure si ritenga esposta con serietà. Ciò a me non pare da escludere, perlomeno in modo assoluto. Sulla composizione e produzione del fuoco greco molto si fantasticò[1] ; e ognuno sa

1. Del fuoco greco ha discorso compendiosamente in maniera

come il medioevo abbia creduto a una infinità di cose, che a noi paiono assurde e ridicole. Ma tale idea stride col modo di vedere del Bruce, nell'introduzione al De ortu (p. 384) espressa colle parole « the outrageously burlesque receipt for the preparation of Greek fire », a cui tolgono ogni possibilità di frantendimento quelle che le richiamano, e loro fanno riscontro nell' altro proemio [1].

Ancor più difettoso è il ragguaglio fra le condizioni per essere ammessi al servizio di Artù e a quello di re Gundebaldo. Il Bruce mostra di ritenere che tanto Artù quanto Gundebaldo sperimentino essi stessi il valore degli aspiranti. Ora, che tale sia il sistema di Gundebaldo, dice a Meriadoc la figliuola dell' imperatore di Germania ; egli ebbe finora in costume *ut nullum sibi militare cupientem consorcio sue admiserit milicie, antequam quarum esset virium ipsemet singulari congressione fuerit expertus* (pp. 385-6). Ma noi vediamo poi che l'effetto di questi cozzi era stato costantemente di far sprofondare e sparire nella palude che circonda la sua dimora quanti avevano tentato la prova, dando così motivo di designare quel paese come « la terra donde nessuno ritorna » (p. 286). Quanto ad Artù, il combattimento ch'egli ci è detto aver l'abitudine di sostenere contro ogni prode che si presenti alla sua corte (p. 424), intende di essere una dimostrazione di valentia superiore, non già una prova per l'ammissione al proprio servizio. Là dove

da non poter essere più autorevole Marc. Berthelot nella *Grande Encyclopédie* francese, XVII, 367-68. La composizione sua uscì dalle tenebre del mistero nel secolo XIII. Il *De ortu* appartiene al periodo nel quale essa era tenuta gelosamente segreta.

1. P. 338. Scherzo atrocemente sarcastico è nel De ortu, p. 422, lin. 16, il *non optabile stomacho antidotum*, detto di un colpo che Galvano, combattendo con Gormondo; fa penetrare *usque ad imum pectus*.

si parla di ciò Artù dice semplicemente che Galvano, prima di essere accolto nella compagnia di tanti prodi, dovrà mostrarsene degno (p. 428).

Convenienza reale c'è nella condizione delle due principesse, l'una — nel De ortu — nipote dell' Imperatore di Roma, l'altra figliuola dell' Imperatore di Germania, entrambe rapite, entrambe riverite dal rapitore e tenute nel più alto grado, ed entrambe tuttavia desiderosissime di liberazione. Ma le circostanze diversificano non poco; e d'altronde le convenienze stesse non hanno valore se non a patto che l'autore sia inventore, e non abbia derivato da modelli questi elementi. Poi, nulla vieterebbe che gli autori fossero due, dei quali l'uno avesse conosciuto e messa a profitto l'opera dell' altro.

Rimangono da considerare due argomenti stilistici ; e ancor essi, guardati da vicino, mi paiono di poca consistenza. Io non trovo che ci sia nei due testi un abuso di *que* congiuntivi, tale da costituire un carattere specifico ; e nulla da potersi dir personale vedo nella collocazione delle parole, sia pure riconoscendola alquanto ricercata in genere, e non già solo nel caso particolare che il Bruce segnala, della inserzione di parole appartenenti alla proposizione principale « in ablative absolute clauses ». Come cotale inserzione possa da lui essere detta « constant », mal riesco a comprendere.

Con ragioni fiacche l'editore dei due testi ha nondimeno affermato cosa che anche per me risponde alla verità.

Un argomento esterno di grande valore è fornito dalla notizia che, indicata da C. F. Brown alla Shove Morriss, fu il punto di partenza di tutta la trattazione intorno alla « authorship » dei due romanzi, vale a dire da ciò che John Bale, attingendo a una fonte smarrita — « Ex Nordovicensi scriptorum catalogo » —,

pose nel suo *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* riguardo alle opere di Roberto del Monte S. Michele, o di Torigny. « Inter cetera » Roberto scrisse « Gesta Walwani » e « Gesta Muradoci »; e di entrambe le opere si riferisce un principio concorde col principio nostro.

Quanto sia attendibile la testimonianza, si è adoperata a mostrare la Morriss. E c'è assai poco luogo a supporla vera solo a mezzo, in quanto Roberto abbia composto uno dei romanzi e sia stato creduto autore anche dell' altro perchè si trovassero trascritti di seguito, come avviene nel codice di Londra. Se ciò fosse, i legami colla *Historia Regum Britanniae* di Goffredo di Monmouth, nota prestissimo a Roberto, vorrebbero che la preferenza fosse data al De ortu; e sta invece che il Meriadocus — non il De ortu — ha in fronte una iniziale R., che, molto ragionevolmente, checchè ne pensasse Paul Meyer[1], era stata sospettata iniziale del nome dell' autore, e che è poi apparsa rispondente all' attribuzione all' Abate del Monte S. Michele: *Incipit prologus R. in historia Meriadoci, regis Kambrie.*

Argomenti interni suffragatori possono realmente, come — rimanendo troppo alla superficie — volle fare il Bruce, essere ricavati dalla latinità. Lo stampo ne è certo il medesimo. In entrambi gli scritti è dignitosa, copiosamente cospersa di fiori poetici, lessicalmente varia e ricca. Essa ha perfino talora un certo sapore di originalità, legitima, o avventata. Noto nel De ortu, pag. 394, lin. 6-7, *ad se amandum extorquebat*, « costringeva ad amarlo »; 395, 5, *ubi in virilem etatem proruperit*, «giunto che sia alla virilità »; 401, l. ult.: *Innumerosa*, per « innumerevole »; 402, 3, *periciam* — se così è da correggere lo svarione del ms. — *non ignorabant*, « non erano ignari »; 403, 13, *mos est*,

1. *Romania*, XXXIV, 144: « Cela veut dire *Rubrica* ».

« suole accadere »; ib., 15, *incircumspecti*, « non veduti », « invisibili »; 404, 2-3, *tua cognicione potiri*, « fare la tua conoscenza »; 414, 9, *Iuventus*, « un giovane [1]; 421, 5, *duelligeri*, « i duellatori »; 429, 11, *agmina.... inprovisa*, « che non stanno in guardia ». — E nel MERIADOCUS, 341, 31, *te consentaneo*, « col tuo assenso »; 345, 16-17, *cunctorum in hoc copulatur assensus*, « s'accordano in ciò »; 356, 25, *crebri iactus volvebantur lapidum*, « si lanciavano pietre a ogni poco »; 367, 11 e, 390, 19, *depeculiari*, « spogliar del bestiame »; 371, 21, *alearum iacturis operam dabant*, « giocavano a dadi »; 374, 30, *ingravissime*, « gravissimamente »; 377, 22, *cum lance dapifera*, « con un vassoio carico di vivande ».

La ricchezza permette a ciascuno dei due romanzi, notevolmente vari d'altronde di materia, di contenere un buon numero di vocaboli che non occorron nell' altro, senza che se ne possan trarre conseguenze di nessuna specie. Significative all' incontro convenienze non poche. Accade che il cavallo sia chiamato talora *cornipes* (DE OR., 424,23, 426,18, 430,5; MER., 351,18, 361,15), più spesso *sonipes* (DE OR., 401,19, 424,23, 425,22, 426,13; MER., 351,12, 361,7, 378 quattro volte, 387 quattro volte, 388 due volte, 396 due volte). — Queste sono raffinatezze; e altrettanto si dica di *apices* al plurale, per *epistola*, « lettere », « lettera » (DE OR., 423,17, e 427,13; MER., 391,6); e di *apex*, in singolare, usato, secondo me, nel senso non punto comune di « corona » (DE OR., 406, 7; MER., 341, 31)[2]. — L'uso

1. Cfr. *Chanson de Roland*, v. 2916, « Ami Rolland, prozdoem, juvente bele ».

2. DE OR., *fatatum erat, quod.... rex regali spoliaretur apice*; MER., *Cuius* [principatus] *apicem si te consentaneo assequi non potuerit....* Abbastanza ovvio sarebbe *apex* per « berreto »; ma non so punto che nelle regioni nordiche trovasse riscontro il berretto dei dogi veneziani. E si cfr. DE OR., 423, 1, *diademate*

specifico aggiunge valore a *clepsedra*[1], alterazione di *clepsydra*, medievalmente ben noto per designare, non altrimenti che l'orologio ad acqua, lo zipolo della botte [2], e dai nostri due testi, per analogia, adoperato a indicare, nel Meriadocus, 350, 22, il tappo che nelle fosse per la cottura delle carni chiude il condotto dalla superiore all' inferiore, e nel De ortu, 415, 10 e 24, 416, 12, l'otturatore del piccolo foro dei recipienti in cui si contiene il fuoco greco [3]. Da rilevare che la voce occorre in due episodi che abbiamo visto analoghi. — A questa parola greca metto accanto un altro grecismo, ben familiare al latino, ma al quale tuttavia conferisce un certo valore l'abbondanza degli esempi: le stanze sono dette volontieri *thalami* (De or., 403,6, 414,11, 426,27; Mer., 343,30, 349,29, 353,10, 376,19 e 28, 377,5 e 33, 384,30) [4]. — Comuni

insigniebatur; Mer., 344, 10-11 *se diademate insignivit*; luoghi non privi di qualche significato neppur come riscontro. — Al senso più remoto e realmente significativo *apex* sarà venuto attraverso all' applicazione alle coperture di capo speciali come distintivo delle dignità ecclesiastiche, perpetuatesi in tale ufficio fino a noi. — Invito una volta per tutte a ricorrere al *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* del Du Cange, mentre per parte mia soglio interrogare altresì le opere medeviali di Uguiccione Pisano e di Giovanni da Genova.

1. *Clepsadra*, nel De or., 416, 12, se non è errore di stampa, sarà certamente dovuto a un trascrittore.

2. In Uguiccione, che Giovanni da Genova trascrive, la definizione è *Docillus*, *qui obdit foramen dolii*, colla motivazione *quia per illum quis furatur liquorem*. — Il *docillus* è stato straziato in varie maniere.

3. La prima volta l'autore del De ortu parla con un certo quale ritegno: *Fit quoque et virga aenea* — non *aerea*, come porta la stampa — *cuius curvata summitas ad modum clepsedre coaptatur*.

4. Altri due vocaboli greci, che i lessici del medioevo conoscono ottimamente, riferisco dal De ortu: 422, 13, *rumphea*, che più correttamente sarebbe *romphea*, per spada (sette righi prima *gladium*); e 416, 29, *myopacontas* — che forse dobbiam contentarci correggere in *myoparontas*, invece che nell' esatto *myopa-*

alle due opere, parole ed espressioni, da cui noi siamo offesi, e che non altrimenti che le poetiche, ebbero a parere eleganze. Tale è *pretaxare* per « dir prima » : De or., 396,9, *pretaxatum equestre certamen* ; 402, l. ult., *ut pretaxavimus*; Mer., 362,21, *que pretaxavimus* 366,2-4, *ut pretaxavimus*; 387,20, *una cum pretaxato equo.* — Alla medesima specie assegno *perhendinare* (sempre coll' indebita *h*), « indugiare », « trattenersi » : De or., 409,25, 423,28 ; Mer., 357,25 e 29-30, 372-8, 384,32-33, 395, l. ult. — Osservabili anche *astipulare,* « affermare (De or., 402,9, Mer., 357,34) ; *innotescere,* quale transitivo, « manifestare » (De or., 405,27 ; Mer., 353,24, 357,18) ; *insinuare*, stesso senso (De or., 431,16 ; Mer., 383,24, 389,23). Col *campigenas* per « campioni » Mer., 359,6 e 21-22, converrá bene esattamente De or., 420,29, in quanto il *campigeni*, del codice e della stampa sarà da correggere in *campigene.*— Indicherò il comune alternarsi nel medesimo senso di *nomen* e *vocabulum* De or., 395,9, « *Puer sine nomine* » *vocatus* 402,16, *Buzafarnan nomine* ; e 391,25, *Viamundus vocabulo*, 396,16, *hoc illi mansit vocabulum,* 417,19, *Gormundi vocabulo*, 431,20, « *Miles cum tunica armature* » *sortitum vocabulum* ; Mer., 346,9 , *Ivorium nomine*, 358,13-16, « *Niger Miles de Nigro Saltu* » *ex ipsius Nigri Saltus mihi nomen dirivetur nomine*, 372,1-3, *Ne mireris... si te tuo vocaverim nomine diu quippe est quod mihi et vultu et nomine haberis cognitus*, 384,18, *mutato nomine*, ib., 26, *nomen mentitus ;* e

ronas—per una specie di leggiera nave piratica, che Giovanni da Genova dice *ex vimine et crudo corio contexta.* — Singolare nello stesso De ortu, 412,27, la forma *pira,* nel significato di πῦρ, ; nè credo che la singolarità sia tolta dalla determinazione speciale : *piram, ignem videlicet grecum.* — Nel Meriadocus. 350,14, il vocabolo si mostra quale riflesso legittimo dell'etimo greco : *piram quam maximam..... accendunt.*

340,14, *Griffinus vocabulo*, 353,27, *suoque prolatus vocabulo*. — Il *gratuito affectu* del De ortu, 394, 17, vorrà bene essere appaiato col *gratuito animo*, « con animo grato », dell'altro scritto, 363,3, e ne riceverà una interpretazione non ovvia. — *Avus* s'incontra tanto nel De ortu (432,4) quanto nel Meriadocus (346,30) applicato a uno zio ; colla differenza nondimeno che nel primo si tratta di zio materno, ossia di chi correttamente sarebbe da chiamare *avunculus*, e nel secondo di zio paterno, designato anche a dovere in un altro luogo come *patruus* (354,26). — Sebbene poi *quantocius* per *quam primum* sia una scorrettezza di cui già occorre qualche esempio nel latino della decadenza, e riuscita a mettere tali radici, che contro di essa dovette ancora insorgere il Vossio, *De vitiis sermonis*, lib. IV, cap. 35 [1], il non essere stata, per quel che mi pare, di uso universale, dà motivo di rilevarla nei nostri due scritti : De or., 400,22, *quantocius convenire imperat*, 416,22, *nisi quantocius sucurreretur*, 425,10-11, *Ni igitur quantocius... te mihi ultro tradideris* ; — Mer., 368,45, *iussit quam tocius in unum infra agmen coacervari*, 375,29, *quam tocius ducere festinaret*, 376,14, *Surgite, ait, quam tocius*. Non credo che quand'anche la lezione dei codici sia stata resa fedelmente dall'editore, la grafia, unita nel De ortu, divisa nel Meriadocus, implichi un'idea etimologica diversa. Penso che lo sproposito reso evidente dalla divisione (in realtà si risale a *quanto ocius*) sia supponibile senza ingiusta offesa anche attraverso al congiungimento ; sicchè sia caso che solo il Meriadocus (344, 11-12] ci offra un passo come questo : *Verum multocius nequiciam, quo magis quis tegere nititur, tocius propalatur*.

Vi sono convenienze verbali attribuibili alla convenienza delle cose ; tale il *discopulatis canibus* parlan-

1. Di ciò mi ha dato notizia Glossario del Du Cange.

dosi del principio di una caccia, De ortu, 399, 18, Meriadocus, 343, 7; ma ce ne sono di parole e pensiero, alle quali par bene da attribuire un significato maggiore. Analoghe di certo, come s'è visto, le situazioni della nipote dell' Imperatore di Roma nel De ortu e della figlia dell' Imperatore di Germania nel Meriadocus. Tuttavia i passi che qui metto a riscontro portano anche a pensare che la mente da cui quelle situazioni sono considerate sia la medesima. Nel De ortu, p. 404, parla della donna il suo confidente Nabaor: *Quamquam nimirum ut huius regina patrie maximo a rege Milocrate honoris et glorie sollimetur fastigio, tamen, quia se a maritali thoro captam iure predonis menti non excidit, semper se captivitatis remordet obprobrium, malletque alias cum paupere libera quam hic omni rerum pompa suffulta degere captiva.* Nel Meriadocus, p. 385, parla la donna medesima: *Verum licet mihi pro voto suppetant omnia, meam tamen mihi conscienciam semper captivitatis remordet iniuria; unde mihi regnum est pro carcere, diviciarum copias inopiam reputo..... Nitendum est igitur ut hinc eripiar, quia gratius est mihi, eciam cum miseriis mori libera, quam cum omnibus deliciis vivere captiva.* Non si può non essere colpiti in modo speciale dalla corrispondenza del *tamen semper se captivitatis remordet obprobrium* col *tamen mihi conscientiam semper captivitatis remordet iniuria.* — Allo sconosciuto col quale s'incontra nella notte, Artù, De or., p. 425, grida: *Cuias es...? exulne, predo, an insidiator?* E a Meriadoco il guardiano della porta della città in cui è custodita la figlia dell' Imperatore, Mer., p. 383: *Cuiates, ait, estis? pacificine, an exploratores?* — Una stessa riflessione è espressa in luoghi che si corrispondono nel De ortu e nel Meriadocus. De or., p. 403: *Preterea plerisque temporibus industria pocius quam viribus scias utendum, quia etiam ex parte virium industria multociens*

quod cupitur prospere efficitur, sine qua ad successum negocii nunquam viribus venitur. Mer., p. 382: *Hoc tamen et per nuncios sepe inculcavit, ut, si ad se veniret, cum manu privata accederet, dicens eum pocius cautela quam viribus id negocium ad effectum posse perducere.* — Termino con un riscontro, che, mentre rafforza il convincimento che l'autore dei due romanzi sia il medesimo, parrebbe farli discendere entrambi ad altra età che non sia quella in cui si trovò fiorire Roberto di Torigny. Ritornato dall' oriente e non osandosi più da nessuno levare il capo contro Roma, colui che ancora si chiama *Miles cum tunica armature* e che noi sappiamo esser Galvano, *pacem fastiditus miliciamque qua sua virtus et probitas exerceretur semper affectans, studiose querere cepit, quenam regio belli tumultibus turbaretur* (De or., p. 423.)— E Meriadoc (p. 365-66), vinti e fattisi compagni i tre Cavalieri della Selva Nera, della Rosea, della Bianca, *viam quam animo prefixerat ad inquirendam et exercendam miliciam accelerabat..... Missis... longe lateque nunciis, sciscitatus fuerat quenam terrarum regio bellorum subiaceret et legibus...* — Identiche le idee: identica l'espressione culminante, *exercere miliciam*[1]. Questo è ciò che importa per il problema speciale di cui mi sono venuto occupando. Ma non viene qui anche a resultare che si sia già foggiato il tipo del cavaliere di ventura, del cavaliere errante? — Adagio. Quando abbia cominciato ad apparire il tipo di cui lo sparuto gentiluomo della Mancha fu l'ultimo rappresentante, io non sto ora a indagare. Ma ad esso non si può dire che rispondano nè il Galvano del De ortu, né Meriadoc. Per renderci conto di loro basta l'esistenza, ben

1. Non dovrebb' esserci bisogno di avvertire che nell' uso medievale *miles* è il «cavaliere», e *militia* significa « cavalleria», non già « milizia » in genere.

reale e al di là di precoce, del cavaliere di professione ; di cavalieri che fossero disposti a prestare, pagati, l'aiuto del loro braccio a tutt' altri che il loro signore feudale. Come tale Galvano è trattato apertamente da Artù, il quale gli dice (De or., p. 427-28) : *Magna mihi sat militum extat copia incomparabilis probitatis... Tui similium etiam absque stipendiis mihi permaximus sponte militat numerus.* Nè altrimenti stanno le cose per Meriadoc : *Imperator..., postquam quis esset et cur ad se venisset audivit, eo quod decuit eum honore suscepit, atque inter primos stipendiarios sui exercitus eum constituit* (p. 366).

Ritornando all' assunto, fra il De ortu e il Meriadocus resulta propriamente una stretta parentela [1]. Ed entrambi appaiono opere di una mente colta, ed opere studiate. Che l'autore del De ortu s'ispiri a intendimenti artistici, dice egli stesso còlla dichiarazione finale, che *operosius sit composito eloquencie stilo historiam exarare, quam vulgari propalare sermone*; e ad una dichiarazione dello stesso genere equivale nel Meriadocus l'essere il testo infiorato di orazioni vere e proprie. Tale il discorso con cui malvagi consiglieri inducono Griffino a farsi reo della morte del

1. Tra le convenienze non do peso, perchè riferibile alle fonti, al sentimento conforme, da cui, per causa analoga, sono invasi, nel De ortu Milocrate, nel Meriadocus Gundobaldo, quegli al vedere armato delle sue armi Galvano, questi montato sopra un cavallo suo, fratello di quello su cui sta egli stesso, Meriadoc. De or., p. 407 : *Ad quorum* [armorum] *visum nimis perte*[*r*]*ritus infremuit, quia hoc quod postea evenit sibi nimis vere ratus, expavescebat.* E prima è stato detto della regina, a colloquio con Galvano (p. 406) : *Ensem regis preterea ac eius arma ei contulit aurea, de quibus fatatum erat, quod ab eo devictus rex regali spoliaretur apice, qui preter ipsum ea primitus induisset.* — Mer., p. 388: *verum ubi appropinquaverunt et rex Gundobaldus suum sonipedem advertit, confestim expaluit, omneque robur ipsius emarcuit; in sortibus quippe acceperat se ab illo solo vincendum, qui sibi singulari pungna illo equo vectus occurrisset.*

fratello (pp. 341-42); tale quello che Artù tiene a Kaio, imponendogli di essere il giorno appresso campione contro il Cavalier Nero della Selva Nera (pp. 359-60); discorso che pare a Kaio ben più lungo che non occorresse; e tale l'altro, addirittura solenne, dell' Imperatore di Germania ai *patres* e *principes*, per accusare Meriadoc e farlo giudicare meritevole di essere sottoposto *durissimis suppliciis* (pp. 392-94).

Una somiglianza voglio ancora additare, terminando il raffronto. Sbadato in qualche caso l'autore del De ortu; sbadato l'autore del Meriadocus; nel De ortu il medesimo personaggio è detto *Buẓafarnan*, p. 402, 16, e *Egesarius*, p. 410, 10. Nel Meriadocus, Uriano, marito della sorella di Meriadoc, ne è detto due volte *socer*, p. 357, 17 e p. 366, 3. O, anzichè sbadataggine, sarebbe questo *socer* da imputare a una conoscenza imperfetta della terminologia dei gradi di parentela, e da associare conseguentemente con *l'avus*, rilevato più addietro [1]? Se così fosse, ne verrebbe pur sempre, in altra maniera, un rincalzo per l'identità dell' autore.

La quale, dalla somma dei dati che sono venuto esponendo, se non resulta dimostrata in modo assoluto, è resa così probabile, da ridurre a ben poca cosa le riserve di cui, per essere prudentissimi, si voglia ancora circondarla. E qui gioverà soggiungere un indizio, dal quale le ragioni linguistiche ricevono rafforzamento.

Accennai, nel principio di questo scritto, all' *Arturo e Gorlagon*: altro composizione latina di materia brettone. Questa pure, sopra un esemplare cortesissimamente donatomi d'all'editore prof. Kittredge, mi parve doveroso di esaminare sotto il rispetto della forme. Che il testo, pur essendo del secolo decimo-

1. V. p. 10.

quarto la trascrizione in cui ci è pervenuto, possa difficilmente essere ritenuto più tardo del decimo terzo, pensa con ragione l'editore [1] ; e non credo che egli deva repugnare a una datazione anteriore. Costituisce dunque un buon termine di confronto per il De ortu e il Meriadocus.

Ebbene : lo stile del Gorlagon mi pare più semplice che quello delle altre due narrazioni, sia per ciò che spetta ai vocaboli, sia per le frasi, sia per il periodare. Non che vi manchino le ricercatezze [2] ; ma abbondano meno. E mentre c'è luogo a qualche ravvicinamento specifico col De ortu e col Meriadocus [3], appaiono altresì peculiarità che ce ne distaccano, Tale *inde* nell' uso pronominale delle sue emanazioni neo-latine [4] ;

1, P. 264.

2. Ci sono qui pure *sonipes* (non *cornipes*), 151,8, 156, 20 ; *thalamus,* 153, l. penult., 157,24, 158,24 e 33, nei primi tre casi col valore genuino ; *lumen,* per « occhio », « sguardo » (cfr. De or., 413, l. penult., Mer., 353,23, 397,5), nella frase aggravante *toxico lumine*, 158,1. Meritevoli di segnalazione anche *canum immensa numerositate*, 156,1-2 ; *duo proceres qui regis latus vallabant*, ib., 8-9 ; *Dum... mens nimium sibi fluctuaret,* 158, 29-30 ; *dapifero carcerali mancipato custodie*, 159,19 ; *ignium globis traditur*, ib., 22 ; *equor aggreditur*, « si mette in mare », 160,24.

3. Sarà dovuto ad accidente che il Meriadocus non abbia esempi di *autumare* nel senso attenuato, a mio vedere notevole, di « stimare ». Il De ortu ci lo dà quattro volte : 403,3, 425,4, 426, l. ult., 429,12 ; ed una il Gorlagon, 151,29. — Senza il Gorlagon, dove il lupo mannaro trova due conti, fratelli della perfida moglie che lo ha fatto bestia, *in ipsis valvis pirgis ludentes*, 155, 11-12, non avrei capito che Mer., 371,20 *pirgi*, πύργοι, fossero gli scacchi. Dal contesto ciò non appariva. Dovettero essere chiamati cosi — tra Greci, si penserebbe — da uno dei pezzi : le torri.

4. Si ripete molte volte in una specie di ritornello, che ci dà allo stesso modo replicati esempi dell' *agnoscere* per *cognoscere* : con qualche tenue varietà, *Magnum est queris et pauci sunt qui illud agnoscunt, et cum inde tibi retulero parum inde doctior habeberis* ; primanente 152, 30-32. Ma l'uso non si limita a

tale *agnoscere* per *cognoscere* [1]; tale *constipulare*, 151,21, in cambio dell' *astipulare* degli altri due testi; tale *sibi* per *ei*, e in atteggiamento ordinario [2], e quale ci è dato nello strano costrutto *salutatisque sibi invicem*, 152,25, « salutatisi scambievolment »; tale *in eius obviam... processit*, 154,16 : roba che dalla penna di chi compose De ortu e Meriadocus non credo sarebbe potuta uscire [3].

Sicchè, accanto ad affinità da ricondurre a condizioni di tempo, di regione, di tradizione scolastica, simili o non molto dissimili, il *Gorlagon*, a differenza degli altri due testi, contiene caratteristiche, da cui resulta essere diversi gli autori.

questo caso : 151,19, e 152,8, *quod inde sciero* ; 151,31 *quod inde noverit:* 153,23, *illum.... inde percuntari proposuit.*

1. Oltre che nel ritornello, 156,33-34 *donec quoà restat agnovero.*

2. Lasciando da parte gli esempi più o meno giustificabili, 153, l. 6-7 dal basso, *nec ipsum sibi illud propalare debere.*

3. *Obstinaciam*, 154,1, inclino a credere falsa risoluzione di un compendio che intendesse di dire *obstinacionem.*

[Due to a blunder on the editor's part the following errata appear in the « Appendice » : p. 17, l. 7, DB for DE ; p. 19, l. 10, *hae* for *hac* ; l. 14, *pere-quitans* for *per-equitans* ; p. 20, l. 1, cle for c'è; l. 10, porbabilmente for probabilmente ; l. 18, tollerrabili for tollerabili.]

APPENDICE [1]

Comunico le correzioni e i dubbi che mi si sono affacciati nella lettura e nello studio dei testi quali si leggono nella stampa del Bruce. Di semplici errori di stampa si tratta in molti casi. Per il Meriadocus riuscirà certamente proficua la collazione del codice d'Oxford.

De ortu Walwanii.

P. 393, l. ult., vorrei riscontrare se la parola « undecipherable » possaessere *sumptuosis*.— 397,5, *pacuerunt*. — 398, 15, *nulli parcerent*. — Ib., 18-19, *innotuerat*. — 399, 18, *vix insequi*. — Ib., 29, virgola dopo *advenimus*, perchè si possa capire che *eiusque* sta per *eius etiam*. — Ib., 31-33, *Dixerat..... minantis*, sono versi e dovevano essere stampati come tali. Cfr. p. 407. — 400, 7, *hostibus*. — 401, 15, *illis*. — 402, 12, *dicturos*. — Ib., 28, si tolga la virgola dopo *aure*. — 403, 21, *erga se ..... prelocutus favorem*. — Ib., 26, *eo*. — 404, 22, *prevalere* [*possis*] *efficiat*. — Ib., l. ult., *deponere! Profecto, si*. — 405, 16-17, *aspectancium*. — Ib., 34, *ad optatum*. — 406, 3, *horrendum*. — Ib., 24, *premiserat*. — 407, si tolga *et* dal secondo verso. — 411, 6, *ne nos*. — Ib., 21-22, *in longitudine, prori autem*. — Ib., l. ult., propongo la lettura *naves*, o *rates*. — 412, 4, *confringens*. — Ib., 29, *At*. — 413, 23, togliere *se*

1. V. p. 1.

davanti a *necem*? — Ib., 25, *invenerint*. — 414, 1, *tartarum*. — Ib., 13, *sanguinis*? — Ib., 16-17, *ingurgitatus*. — Ib., 23, *concreetur*. — Ib., l. ult., *eius* [*cruor*] *una*.— 415, 2, si sopprima il supplemento *est*.— Ib., 9, *aenea*. — Ib., 11-12, *in prioribus*. — Ib., 21, *flamma* parrebbe di troppo, e potrebb'essere anticipazione sbadata. — Ib., 27, *ne exeat, os calami clepsedra*. — Ib., 30, *follium*. — 416, 12, *dempta clepsedra eius, unam*, — 417, 17, *probata*. — Ib., 31, *quod*. — 418, 8, *actum sit, effere mentes*. — 419, 31, *nil exclamat, ulterius viribus*. — 421, 14, va conservato *hanelis*. — Ib., 19, *pacientes*? Ib., 26, *invalidius*. — 422, 22, *sanctitis* non vuol correzione; nè l'ha avuta, rettamente, *sanctita*, Mer., 357, 20, e 389, 10.— 423, 3, *probitas*.— Ib,, 12, *duceret*. — 424, 16, *communicarentur*, o piuttosto *comu-*. — Ib., 19, indebito il punto interrogativo. — 425, 2, *moram parumper habuerat*. — Ib., 3, *alueum*. — Ib., 4, *armorum*. — 426, 3, *quidue*. — Ib., 10, *perferre*. — 427, 9, *quidue*. — Ib., 20, *conuocato*. — 428, 17, forse piuttosto *preponam*. — 329, 2, *profeccioneque*. — Ib., 21, *anxiabatur*. — 431, 9, *pugilium*.

Historia Meriadoci.

P. 339, *Incipit prologus R. in historia Meriadoci, regis Kambrie. Memoratu dignum*. — 340, l. ult, *commisit*. — 341, 17, *inisse*. — Ib., 25, *status* ? — Ib., ll. ultt., *cuius uita nobis tantum perpendimus imminere discrimen*. — 342, 4-5, *aggredi, tantum*. Ib., 13, *confodere*. — Ib., 34, *impertitus*. — 343, 2, si tolga la virgola dopo *nobiles*. — 346, 6, *postposita*. — Ib., 21, *suffulti* (Cfr. 393, 18). — 348, 2, *quercus*, o *roboris*, invece di *saltus*? — 349, 6, *te cum*. — Ib., 26, *nidificent*. — 352, 22, *alterius*. — 353, 17, *papiriis*. — 354, 1, forse *collatis*. Cfr. 393, 13 e 25. — Ib., 18, *perpendere*. — 355, 19, *nimium commotus*. — 356, 11,

feruescere. — Ib., 14-15, *inspecta, que suimet natura*. — 358, 19, *parium*. — 359, 1, *preualere*. — Ib., 6, *campigenas*. — Ib., 11, penso che *omnes uno homine excepto* sia chiosa di un lettore, passata dal margine al testo. Il lettore volle con essa riferirsi a Meriadoc. Il raddoppiamento incomportabile dell' *omnes* dà valido sostegno alla congettura. — 361, 8, *hanelus*. Cfr. qui appresso 367. 6, e De or., 421, 14. — Ib., 13, *uolutando*. — 362, 11, *superfluum*. — Ib., 30, *inseparabilem*. — 365, 7, *qui non impari? qui hae non impari?* — 366, 21, *familiarium*. — Ib., 32, *Non multum post*. — 367, 6, *hanelo*. — Ib., 10, forse piuttosto *adscito*, od anche *accito*. — Ib., 18-19, il doppio *p* di *repperiebatur* può essere genuino. — 368, 9, *pere-quitans* (Cfr. 396, 20). — Ib., 11, o l'*ex-*, o il co-, saranno di troppo in *excohortationibus*. — Ib., 23, *estuosos*. — 369, 26, *a via certa*. — 370, 6, *pausaturus*. — Ib., 12, *magis sompno*. — 371, 1, *constructa*. — 372, 8, *Vocatisque*. — Ib., 12, *intendente, esse curie quesiuit, que*. — Ib., 34, *agis*. — 373, 2, *aselli*. — Ib., 17, *insania que*. — Ib., 26-27, *retenturi*. — 374, 5, più verosimilmente *fuerimus... habuerimus*. — Ib., 13, *inundacione*. — Ib., 17, verosimilmente *uicinio*, come s'ha, indebitamente voluto correggere, 382, 8. — 375, 3 *periclitari*. — Ib., 5, *qui iam*. — Ib., 32-33, *ad modicum*. — Ib., 33, *ubi ipsi*. — 376, 10-11, *resumpto auditu*. — Ib., 12, *tam immodico pauore*. — Ib., 16, *apponite*. — Ib., 21-23, *offendit, ante quam..... sufficienti. Meriadocus....*— Ib., 29, *domine sue*.— 377, 4, *audens*.— Ib., 27, *domine mee*. — Ib., 30., *cuius ictu*, o meno probabilmente *iactu*. E c'è il caso che l'*illorum* del manoscritto sia giustificato dalla caduta di un *multos*.— 378, 14, *veredario*. — Ib., 26, *insipienter*. — Ib., 27, *noluerit*. — Ib., 29, *incedere*. — 379, 6, l'ovvia correzione di *letificari* in *letificati*, può essere sufficiente a rendere tollerabile così com' è la lezione. — Ib., 17, *abierant*.

— Ib., 19, non clè bisogno di supplementi. — Ib., l. ult., *uiciniis*? Cfr. 374, 17. — Ib., *matutino*. — 380, 7, *reliqui*. — 381, 18, *donaturum*. — Ib., 20, *iudicabat*. — Ib., 24, *priuato usus consilio*? — Ib., 32, al più si potrebbe supplire *et*. — Ib., 33, *amiciciam*. — 382, 8, *uicinio*. V. 374, 17. — Ib., 9, forse *possent*. — 383, 7, *imperiis*. — Ib., 19, *pateat*. — Ib., 21, *locuti fueritis*. — 385, 9, *uoluerit*.— Ib., 13, *angustia*. — Ib., 19, *insignia*, *certa*. — 386, 12, *Inde est quod quia*. — Ib., 23, *pedis*. — 387, 3, il numerale omesso sarà porbabilmente *duorum*. — Ib., 16, *muniaris*. — 391, 10, *interserebat*. — Ib., 13, *adducere*. — Ib., *imo*. — 393, 2, *reliquis*. — Ib., 14, *comparere* mi è un poco sospetto. — 394, 5 *uos*. — 395, 31, *uicinio*. — 396, 17-18, *omine*; nè ci fu omissione.

Ho rilevato alcune grafie modificate senza bisogno. Altre ancora, stando alle abitudini medievali, erano tollerrabili.

MYRRHA LOT-BORODINE

TRISTAN ET LANCELOT

Les deux héros qui portent des noms justement célèbres dans notre vieille littérature sont les symboles vivants de l'amour conçu sous cette double forme : la passion tragique et fatale, le service-culte de la dame.

Le premier de ces héros, Tristan, moins attaché à une époque particulière, plus profondément humain, séduit davantage le cœur des foules et l'imagination des poètes ; le second, Lancelot du Lac, étroitement lié au milieu courtois qui l'a fait naître, en opposition à son émule, déjà glorieux, attire surtout les esprits curieux des formes d'art et de sentiment passées. Tous deux posent, sous des aspects divers, le grand problème qui est au centre de la poésie médiévale : comment on aime, comment il faut aimer. Mais tandis que tout — ou presque tout — a été dit sur l'amant d'Iseut la Blonde, et par les artistes qui l'ont adopté, et par les critiques qui l'ont étudié avec soin, l'ami parfait de la reine Guenièvre a été laissé dans l'ombre, et c'est à peine si

l'intérêt semble s'éveiller maintenant pour cette merveilleuse « fleur de la chevalerie terrienne ».

Notre intention, à nous, est, au contraire, de mettre en pleine lumière cette figure purement idéale, nullement conventionnelle, qui réalise aux yeux du Moyen-Age féodal son rêve le plus cher.

Mais d'abord il nous faudra retracer, dans leurs grandes lignes, les principaux caractères de la légende du *Tristan* en insistant tout particulièrement sur la vraie nature de ces amours irresponsables, marqués au sceau de la fatalité, si différentes de la claire et forte conception sentimentale du *Lancelot*. Car, dans un rapprochement de ce genre, ce qui importe, ce ne sont guère les ressemblances générales, vagues ou apparentes, ce sont les divergences réelles, les traits psychologiques originaux qui aboutissent à la création de deux types dissemblables, voire antagonistes.

En s'élargissant, notre comparaison devra embrasser également les œuvres où s'incarnent ces types et qui représentent chacune un monde à part : les versions fragmentaires du *Tristan*, reflétant toutes, à quelques nuances près, le monde de la passion dans lesquels l'âme, tragiquement impuissante, se brise contre la vie : c'est l'amour fort comme la mort. Et, d'autre part, les romans en vers, et surtout en prose, du *Lancelot*, qui plonge ses racines dans la chevalerie arthurienne vue sous un jour idéal. Ici, le sentiment individuel, puissant stimulant de l'action, s'harmonise avec les forces sociales qui l'encadrent avant de s'écrouler au contact d'une puissance spirituelle, supérieure à toutes les valeurs d'ici-bas : c'est Dieu, ou l'amour sacré plus fort que l'amour profane.

Tristan

Trois thèmes dominent, à nos yeux, la merveilleuse légende du héros celte. Ce sont : 1° La fatalité de l'amour symbolisée par le *love-drink*, le célèbre philtre ; 2° le drame de conscience, le conflit entre l'honneur et le devoir d'une part et la passion de l'autre ; 3° le dénouement inéluctable et tragique, ultime triomphe de l'amour, qui s'affirme en mourant. Toute l'histoire, unique en son genre, de Tristan et d'Iseut est liée étroitement au développement de ces trois thèmes essentiels, ne peut se concevoir sans l'un deux.

Ce ne sont pas les trouvères français qui ont créé ce type de la passion brûlante, aveugle, absolue ; le souffle troublant qui émane des poèmes du *Tristan* ne rappelle guère le doux parfum de la courtoisie. C'est bien ce qu'avait déjà senti et déclaré G. Paris en des pages inoubliables auxquelles la critique fine et serrée de M. Bédier n'a rien enlevé de leur force persuasive. Notre regrettée amie, Gertrude Schoepperle, l'a très justement remarqué dans son beau livre sur les sources de la vieille légende[1]. L'un nous parle dit-elle, dans ses conclusions, de l'histoire telle qu'elle fut, l'autre nous parle de l'histoire telle qu'elle est. Personne ne peut nier en effet que l'histoire des amours de Tristan et d'Iseut soit coulée dans un moule français du XII^e^ siècle, mais le métal dont elle a été faite n'est certainement pas d'une trempe française.

La fatalité dans les amours de Tristan et Iseut, fatalité qui les innocente et les absout, a dans toutes les versions de la légende pour signe visible, pour emblème le « boire d'amour ». Que celui-ci ait été dans la préhistoire de nos héros une espèce de *geiss* irlandais, ainsi

1. *Tristan and Isolt*, t. II, p. 469.

que le veut, non sans raison, Gertrude Schoepperle [1] ou bien un véritable philtre, tel que le connaissait l'antiquité gréco-romaine et comme nous en trouvons déjà dans les premiers romans français — peu nous importe ici. Mais ce qu'il faut bien retenir et mettre en plein relief c'est son caractère de *sort magique* dès le début : il reste partout et toujours l'instrument inconscient du destin, tantôt malédiction mystérieuse qu'on déplore et maudit, tantôt, au contraire, véritable sceau d'élection et source d'âpres joies interdites. Dès l'absorption de ce poison le couple prédestiné est arraché à son milieu naturel, à la vie normale, traîné hors la loi humaine et plongé dans une atmosphère particulière, où l'air semble raréfié, la chaleur intense. A partir de ce moment, Tristan et Iseut deviennent des êtres à part : élus de l'Amour, « l'Eros terrible et doux » des anciens, ils se trouvent par là même être les réprouvés de la société dans laquelle tous deux sont appelés à vivre. Et c'est là que se trouve le germe de la tragédie dont les amants périront.

Mais cette conception trop naturiste — donc trop magique — de l'amour considéré comme un envoûtement, répugnait secrètement au clair génie de notre Moyen Age, qui lentement élabora dans son sein un idéal sentimental très différent, idéal où la liberté et la raison revendiquaient hautement leurs droits. Tout en subissant l'irésistible attrait de ce motif, si riche en effets poétiques, les trouvères des XII^e^ et XIII^e^ siècles en ont compris très vite le danger ; ils ont vu le cercle se fermer autour d'eux et ont essayé de le rompre, quelquefois avec bonheur, quelquefois, il faut l'avouer, maladroitement. Il s'agissait avant tout pour eux d'atténuer de leur mieux l'action du philtre, d'en diminuer l'importance, soit en limitant sa durée (Eilhart et Béroul), soit

1. *Tristan*, t. II, pp. 401-408 (The love-potion).

en transformant la nature intime de ce charme (Thomas et Gottfried).

Nous assistons à une longue et curieuse évolution de ce thème initial dans la littérature du *Tristan* qui, malheureusement pour nous, ne s'est conservé qu'en fragments. Cette évolution s'achève à la fin du XIII^e^ siècle dans l'énorme et insipide *Tristan* en prose, sorte de mosaïque faite de pièces et de morceaux et d'où l'âme des vieux poèmes s'est envolée. De cette œuvre mort-née, d'un auteur anonyme qui imite visiblement le *Lancelot*, ne retenons que ce trait : la suppression brutale du mystère d'amour qui hante le couple prédestiné et la prétention d'imposer aux immortels héros, transformés en marionnettes, d'autres aventures sentimentales que l'unique et incomparable aventure de leur destinée.

Ailleurs nous avons toute une gamme de nuances intermédiaires entre l'amour, passion fatale, et l'amour, don libre de deux cœurs. Et dans le chef-d'œuvre de Gottfried de Strasbourg, qui traduit, ou plutôt transpose, le poème de l'anglo-normand Thomas, le « boire » est élevé à la dignité d'un pur symbole, le symbole de la noble *Minne*. Tristan et Iseut s'aiment parce que c'est lui, parce que c'est elle. C'est bien le haut chant de l'amour terrestre, sans artifice ni fard, de l'amour qui n'est plus un simple instinct, mais un besoin profond de tout l'être humain

On l'a déjà dit à plus d'une reprise, chaque poète apportait sa note personnelle à l'interprétation de la légende qui, infiniment souple, prend toutes les formes possibles, s'épure, se complique ou finit par se dessécher. Le fonds cependant reste immuable, gardant à travers toutes les variations d'un thème sentimental l'empreinte du génie celtique qui l'a conçu.

La passion de Tristan et Iseut, précisément par ce qu'elle est un coup de foudre irrésistible, contraire et à la volonté de la société et aux désirs conscients de

ses victimes, cette passion est une force amorale, hors la loi, une espèce de *out-law*. Dans toutes les versions connues de nous subsistent des traces visibles, des réminiscences vivantes de cet amoralisme inhérent à la légende. Mais un délicat travail de remaniement dans le sens d'une mentalité moins farouchement individualiste se fait sentir et chez Eilhart et chez Béroul et chez Thomas. L'amour a beau se suffire à lui-même, s'affirmer avec ivresse parfois, comme supérieur à toute loi humaine, il ne va jamais jusqu'à nier cette loi qui, au contraire, l'étouffe lentement et sûrement. Il n'y a pas de révolte véritable chez ces héros de l'amour qui en sont les premières victimes ; chez eux la passion n'est ni exempte de douleur, ni même à l'abri du remords. Seulement cette douleur est impuissante à conjurer le sort, ce remords reste stérile, sans lendemain ; ils ne font que retomber tous deux d'un poids écrasant sur les épaules condamnées à porter le lourd fardeau.

Là est le ver secret qui ronge ce beau fruit, le germe du conflit, de tout le drame naissant. En effet, malgré l'exubérance joyeuse que l'on sent palpiter dans certaines pages du *Tristan,* malgré l'impudeur magnifique de l'adultère nullement conventionnel et mondain, nous n'avons pas, quand même, dans cette œuvre brûlante de vie intense la glorification sans scrupule de l'éternel désir. Où serait alors le pathétique, qui nous saisit aux entrailles, de cette histoire de la volupté, du sang et de la mort ? Les poètes du Moyen âge français, tous plus au moins consciemment moralistes, l'ont compris les premiers et c'est à eux que nous devons sans doute les accents plus profonds de la conscience en éveil, notes discordantes peut-être, mais combien émouvantes ! Tristan et Iseut, tels que nous les voyons devant nous, ne nous apparaissent pas toujours comme des être simples, sourds et aveugles à tout ce qui n'est pas l'appel du plus sacré des instincts. Sont-ils jamais

pleinement heureux ? Oui, mais par éclairs. Comment pourraient-ils l'être en pleine possession d'eux-mêmes, déchirés par des sentiments si cruellement contradictoires? Et il ne s'agit pas pour ces enfants de la fatalité d'une lutte exclusive entre la passion, toujours victorieuse, et le devoir toujours en défaite. Non, comme l'a si bien compris et exprimé avec tant de force Gertrude Schoepperle, « *Tristan and Isolt* is the tragedy of outraged friendship. It is man's love for womun at war with man's loyalty to man »[1]. Il semble bien que l'idée-maîtresse de ce drame de conscience, devenu la tragédie de l'amitié outragée, revienne à l'esprit des trouvères, à l'esprit médiéval, si fin, si nuancé dans ses analyses pychologiques. Ainsi le personnage du roi Marc qui ne devait être primitivement dans la préhistoire de notre *Tristan* que le type du chef brutal, du maître, du mari qui, trahi par sa femme et par son neveu, ne songe qu'à la vengance, s'est complètement transformé : il nous apparait dans les poèmes des XII^e^ et XIII^e^ siècles — sauf dans le roman en prose qui déforme tout — comme l'image vivante du souverain féodal, comme un homme juste et noble, chéri de ceux-mêmes qui le trompent, un époux toujours prêt à pardonner un ami sincère, généreux. De ce fait la situation des amants devient encore plus douloureuse, plus désespérée, puisqu'ils ne peuvent s'empêcher de faire souffrir celui qu'ils respectent et qu'ils admirent. A la fois innocents et coupables, tous deux sont rivés à une chaîne qui lie leur volonté autant que leurs corps; ils ne sont plus des êtres libres et ils le comprennent.

Voilà pourquoi Iseut dit à Tristan, pleine de mélancolie résignée : « nous avons abandonné le monde et le monde nous a abandonnés ». La conscience n'est pas abolie chez elle et pas davantage chez Tristan. Il sent, lui aussi, avec une acuité amère, l'impossibilité pour lui

1. *Op. cit.* t. p. 456.

d'échapper à ce dilemme : ou bien traître et « récréant » mais amant parfait, ou bien chevalier loyal et preux, mais sans amour ! Or l'amour est sa seule raison d'être depuis l'heure où il a bu le philtre et il ne le sait que trop bien, il a payé assez pour le savoir.

Tel est le trait principal qui distingue Tristan de l'« ami » médiéval imaginé et exalté par la poésie dite courtoise. Loin d'être une force, un tonique vivifiant, l'amour de la femme chez Tristan n'est que faiblesse et renoncement au jeu des nobles énergies viriles : dans la vie il ne construit, ne crée rien, mais au contraire démolit, effrite tout. Cet amour isole le couple prédestiné et fait peu à peu le vide autour d'eux. Aussi finissent-ils par ne plus vivre que l'un pour l'autre dans le superbe égoïsme à deux qui est leur vrai destin ici-bas.

Nulle part cette vérité n'éclate avec autant d'évidence que dans le fameux épisode, justement réputé comme un des joyaux de notre légende : dans la fuite des amants exilés de la cour royale, dans leur vie solitaire au sein de la forêt. Ils goûtent d'abord avec ivresse dans cette solitude une joie âpre et sans mélanges. La nature elle-même semble complice de leur bonheur secret qui pour la première fois est une réalité, non un songe vain ou un insaisissable fantôme. C'est là le point culminant de toute l'histoire en même temps que la révélation de ses tendances secrètes qui touchent à la substance même de son âme. Gertrude Schoepperle l'a senti mieux que personne et l'a exprimé ainsi dans son chapitre sur la Tradition celtique dans la légende : « In the account of their life in the forest Tristan and Isolt are unique in French romance. The solitude of their forest life is peopled for French poets by no tales of other lovers who have felt and lived as they [1] ». Et

1. *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 392-4.

l'auteur nous montre aussitôt combien ce thème était au contraire répandu dans la vieille littérature irlandaise. Et elle conclut en marquant la place des amants de Cornouailles au milieu de leurs ancêtres celtes, dont les plus célèbres sont Diarmaid et Grainne. Qu'importe après cela que les trouvères de l'école courtoise, adaptant ce thème étranger à leur conception de la vie sentimentale, aient transformé encore une fois, transposé à leur manière, l'épisode unique de son genre dans le roman médiéval? Ici comme ailleurs ils ont travaillé avec zèle chacun selon son goût propre. Ainsi Thomas et Gottfried, d'après lui sans doute, ont consciemment atténué la rudesse du désert, faisant de la forêt sauvage un bois enchanté, presque un jardin, avec la merveille grotte de l'amour, embaumée de tous les parfums sylvestres, et où les exilés coulent des jours heureux... Et cependant il semble bien que dans la pensée de tous ces poètes on ne peut impunément transgresser certaines lois morales ou plutôt sociales. C'est dans Eilhart d'Oberg et dans Béroul, plus proches par ailleurs de la tradition archaïque, que nous trouvons quelque chose comme un blâme discrètement exprimé. L'ermite, qui personnifie la conscience chrétienne dans les deux versions, voisines d'inspiration, exhorte les amants exilés à demander le pardon du roi Marc. Il leur parle pour la première fois de péché et de pénitence et ses paroles semblent trouver un écho dans les cœurs où la lassitude secrète succède aux transports de la lune de miel... N'oublions pas que l'effet du philtre s'atténue aussi d'après la tradition représentée par ces auteurs.

Mais ce qui frappe bien davantage ce sont les sentiments intimes de Tristan lui-même qui, dans Béroul, avoue en ces termes la faillite de sa vie chevaleresque :

Oublié ai chevalerie
A seure cort et baronie.
Ge sui essillié du païs,
Tot m'est falli, et vair et gris,
Ne sui a cort a chevaliers. (v. 2165-9).

Voilà le grave reproche que devait adresser à l'ami d'Iseut tout le public courtois qui pourtant subissait comme nous le charme magique de cette passion de plein air, et d'âpre liberté. Selon l'idée dominante de l'époque, en se soumettant entièrement et aveuglément au joug de l'amour, Tristan a trahi l'idéal chevaleresque. Oui, du jour où il a vidé la coupe enchanteresse, la claire vision de la vie digne d'un héros s'est obscurcie en lui. Tristan a cessé de valoir, renonçant à sa gloire passée, reniant son illustre naissance qui le destinait aux plus grands exploits. Maintenant il aura beau par instants, trop brefs d'ailleurs, le regretter : on ne remonte pas le courant qui vous entraîne. Et pourtant comment ne pas se rappeler ici les débuts de cette brillante carrière d'armes? A l'origine dans la vieille légende celtique, Tristan était un guerrier magnifique et il l'est encore dans tous les romans connus de nous : il joint à une adresse incomparable, à une force vraiment prodigieuse, les dons les plus beaux du chevalier médiéval : générosité, noblesse, dévouement. Sa première victoire, remportée sur le géant Morholt, ne le désigne-t-elle pas à l'admiration du monde, ne le consacre-t-elle pas comme le preux des preux? Une fois guéri de la blessure envenimée faite par l'ennemi terrassé de sa main, Tristan devrait trouver d'autres adversaires redoutables, devenir, en combattant sans cesse, le champion de son oncle, le défenseur du royaume dont il reste l'héritier présomptif. Or un poison, plus subtil et plus perfide que le premier, s'insinuant dans son sang, frappera d'impuissance ce bras, désormais seulement capable de repousser ceux qui osent porter atteinte à ses amours.

Beaucoup plus tard, il est vrai, Tristan, définitivement banni, reprendra dans sa nouvelle existence errante les aventures de sa jeunesse solitaire. Mais ce ne sera que désir de s'étourdir, de chercher un

oubli à sa peine. Il en va de même pour ce triste mariage avec Iseut aux Blanches mains, que Tristan contracte en une heure d'égarement, sans jamais le consommer.

Les amants ne peuvent que languir loin l'un de l'autre. Tout les pousse au dénouement inéluctable qui donne tant de grandeur, tant de beauté à leur adultère tragique. Dans la société où ils vivent, il n'y a pas de place pour le libre épanouissement, hors du cadre convenu, d'un sentiment essentiellement individualiste, voire même anarchique Ils n'ont donc que ce choix : s'incliner devant la vie ou bien — et tel est leur suprême refuge — disparaître ensemble... Pris dans les mailles d'un réseau qui se resserre de plus en plus, Tristan et Iseut ne peuvent échapper à la contrainte que par la mort.

Dans l'archétype celtique de notre histoire le coup de grâce devait être donné par le mari-vengeur lui-même. Cette fin nous paraîtrait aujourd'hui barbare et offensante pour la pure mémoire de nos héros, victimes élues entre toutes : car la mort est pour eux une délivrance, obscurément appelée par les amants : non pas qu'ils aspirent au non-être comme les héros névrosés de Schopenhauer et de Wagner, mais par désespoir, ne pouvant plus ni vivre ni s'apaiser autrement [1].

On ne peut pas dire que Tristan et Iseut incarnent vraiment la thèse romantique des droits de la passion ; ils ne font que subir leur sort en victimes, jamais en révoltés. Aussi attendons-nous la catastrophe qui plane sur leurs têtes comme la finale d'une symphonie, nous

1. C'est le dénouement qui se trouve dans le *Tristan* en prose bien éloigné pourtant de la tradition primitive, et où jouent tant d'influences diverses, faisant de ce roman un véritable amalgame d'éléments disparates. Peut-être le motif de la mort donnée aux amants par le roi Marc est-il ici, comme le croyait Gertrude Schoepperle, un emprunt au pré-Tristan celtique.

l'acceptons presque avec soulagement : elle est l'issue unique d'une sombre impasse, en même temps qu'une *catharsis* morale.

Tristan et Iseut réunis dans l'inviolable paix du tombeau, se laissent enfin consumer par la flamme qui les a brûlés si longtemps ; mais de leurs cendres encore chaudes, naîtra l'oiseau de feu, le phénix de l'éternelle espérance, de l'amour fort comme la mort !

Lancelot du Lac.

On peut vraiment dire de l'ami de la reine Guenièvre qu'il est un *anti-Tristan*, l'antipode, en même temps que l'émule du héros celtique. Depuis la brillante controverse entre Gaston Paris et Novati, close avec bonheur par M. Bédier [1], on ne discute plus pour savoir lequel des deux héros fut le premier représentant de l'amour courtois : tout le monde est d'accord aujourd'hui pour reconnaître que le Chevalier de la Charrette de Chrétien de Troyes incarne une forme de sentiment jusqu'ici inconnue dans notre vieux roman. Ce qui n'a pas été, il nous semble, suffisamment mis en lumière, c'est la différence de ces deux destinées viriles fondées sur des principes inspirateurs divergents.

D'abord Lancelot, dont la légende a peu d'attaches folk-loriques, est un type littéraire dont l'idéalisme médiéval s'oppose nettement au puissant réalisme primitif, à l'ardente spontanéité de Tristan. CarLancelot, lui, a été créé par l'esprit rationaliste et moralisateur de notre Moyen Age, tandis que Tristan fut enfanté par le génie d'une race aux écoutes de la nature. Contre l'intransigeant individualisme de la passion sourde et aveugle à tout ce qui n'est pas elle, se dresse la claire

1. V. *Romania*, XII, *Studj di Filologia Romana* II, et le *Tristan* de Thomas, édité par Bédier, t. II, Introduction.

conception de l'amour, force sociale au service de la vie, jamais en opposition avec elle. Et Lancelot, lui, est l'image vivante de cette idée si chère aux cœurs d'antan, si profondément représentative de la civilisation courtoise.

Le maître champenois qui conçut le premier cette figure idéale, qui en forma l'ébauche, guidé par l'heureuse intuition de sa *dame*, Marie de Champagne, se révéla, encore une fois, interprète incomparable des aspirations de son époque. Inutile d'insister sur ce fait suffisamment connu : la transmission des influences provençales, leur rôle important, sinon décisif, dans l'élaboration du type nouveau de l'ami. Notons seulement ici les quelques traits essentiels qui distinguent la conception du Nord, telle que nous la trouvons sous la plume de Chrétien, de la conception du Midi poétique. Le *service d'amour* qui n'est chez les troubadours qu'une pure fiction, un jeu des sens et de l'imagination, prend, pour ainsi dire, de l'étoffe dans le roman français, devient un service effectif [1]. Il ne s'agit plus d'encenser la dame d'hommages hyperboliques, de soupirer et de chanter en son honneur : il faut mettre à sa disposition, à sa discrétion même, toutes les forces de l'être viril, il s'agit, en un mot, de vivre *pour elle* et non pas uniquement *par elle*. Le serviteur humblement épris n'est plus un pauvre poète de cour, mais un chevalier puissant en qui fleurit et murît en même temps tout l'idéal féodal, affiné par l'amour de la femme. Voilà donc le point de départ de cette magnifique chevauchée à travers les siècles, l'impulsion première si vigoureusement donnée à la chevalerie errante ! Lancelot

1. Il serait curieux de comparer le conte de Chrétien avec un roman provençal de même nature ; mais nous n'avons malheureusement que la *Flamenca*, espèce de fabliau, où le cynisme triomphe brutalement et où la courtoisie est inexistante.

annonce déjà Amadis, tous les Amadis à venir de l'Europe romanesque et romantique de jadis.

Chrétien de Troyes n'a pas pu se douter, à coup sûr, que son *Conte de la Charrette*, la moins personnelle et la plus faiblement composée de ses œuvres, mettrait en branle tant d'esprits, inspirerait tant d'imitations plus ou moins lointaines. Mais c'est justement ce qui constitue l'intérêt vivant de son conte, achevé par une autre main que la sienne, et qui semblait voué à l'oubli dès la fin du XII^e^ siècle (écrit vers 1175).

Une cinquantaine d'années plus tard, le *Conte de la Charrette* fut repris, refondu et magistralement développé dans l'immense *Lancelot* en prose (vers 1225 au plus tard) qui, même sous la forme cyclique sous laquelle il nous est parvenu, porte l'empreinte d'une seule volonté créatrice. L'auteur anonyme de cette fresque monumentale a brisé le moule ancien trop étroit pour son dessein grandiose. De l'élégante mais un peu sèche silhouette dessinée par Chrétien, il a fait une véritable épopée de l'amour profane et sacré; de l'ébauche d'un caractère nouveau, le portrait en pied, composé avec un soin minutieux et délicat, du chevalier au service de l'amour. Il n'y a pas ici solution de continuité, mais seulement évolution intérieure. Le second Lancelot, fils du roi Ban et de la « Reine aux grandes douleurs », est bien le frère, par l'esprit et par la chair, du « chevalier de la Charrette », mais plus fort et mieux averti que lui; un frère qui aurait mûri en sagesse humaine, lentement, comme un beau fruit se dorant au soleil de l'amour. Pleinement conscient de la grandeur de sa tâche, il ne se laisse pas éblouir, ainsi que le héros de Chrétien, par l'éclat d'une vision merveilleuse, mais la fait pénétrer en lui, illuminant de ce rayon de beauté et son cœur et sa raison. Les deux Lancelot s'unissent dans la même acceptation joyeuse du sort qu'ils se forgent. Le second sait trans-

former le sentiment dont son âme déborde en un art, l'art même de la vie, dont il donne une image parfaite. Car du culte de l'éternel féminin il extrait telle l'essence d'un elixir précieux, toutes les forces latentes qui sommeillent au fond de l'âme, et les fait servir à une haute vocation humaine, Grandeur et Servitude ! Par le rayonnement de cette vertu qu'est pour lui l'amour, Lancelot réalise son propre idéal moral qui est l'idéal de son temps et de son milieu : chaque jour de vie est un effort pour mieux mettre d'accord, pour harmoniser le doux sentiment qui l'inspire avec sa vocation chevaleresque à laquelle il ne saurait renoncer sans déchoir. D'une émotion intime, centre lumineux d'où part l'action, notre héros fait une véritable mission sociale. Telle est la nouveauté, déjà pressentie par les premiers romanciers français, que Lancelot du Lac apporte dans le monde courtois.

Tandis que Tristan nous apparaît comme l'illustration de ce *que l'amour fait de l'homme*, Lancelot lui, est l'exemple de *ce que l'homme fait de son amour*. A l'impuissance tragique de l'un s'oppose victorieusement la forte et lucide volonté de l'autre. Et la coupe enchanteresse que Tristan vide d'un coup sans le savoir Lancelot la boit librement lui-même goutte à goutte...

Déjà Chrétien de Troyes, qui s'écrie dans sa fameuse chanson :

> Onques del beverage ne bui
> Dont Tristan fut ampoisoné,
> Mès plus me fait amer que lui
> Fin cuer et bone volanté ! [1].

déjà ce poète étranger à la conception fataliste de la vie, se posait en adversaire résolu de l'envoûtement dans l'amour. Toute son œuvre est là pour nous le dire [2] :

1. Brakelmann, *Les plus anciens chansonniers français*, p. 47.
2. Il serait intéressant d'étudier les romans de Chrétien à ce

toute la psychologie optimiste claire et aimable, de ses héros, et particulièrement celle de son Lancelot, atteste une foi robuste dans le libre arbitre du cœur, foi optimiste, absolument opposée au pessimisme profond et fataliste du *Tristan*.

Et cela est plus vrai encore pour le héros du roman en prose, pour l'enfant de sang royal élevé par la Dame du Lac avec une souriante sagesse. Avant de laisser le bel adolescent faire son entrée dans le monde auquel le destine sa haute naissance, la fée maternelle le prépare par d'excellents conseils à sa future chevalerie, considérée comme un véritable sacerdoce. Cet enseignement que l'on est surpris de trouver sur le lèvres de Viviane, l'amie perfide de l'enchanteur Merlin, peut être résumé ainsi : pour un chevalier, vivre c'est servir. Mais tout de suite, dès le seuil de sa jeunesse, vivre et aimer ne seront plus qu'un pour Lancelot, voire *servir* et *aimer*. Et sa protectrice le comprend, le soutient et l'approuve. Elle justifie sa passion illégitime, source de tant de prouesses, par des arguments subtils qui fortifient toujours la thèse de l'amour inspirant, créant l'héroïsme [2]. Voilà pourquoi la Dame du Lac veille avec sa sollicitude sur les amours de Lancelot et de la reine Guenièvre, le meilleur chevalier et

point de vue, de relever les nombreuses et désobligeantes allusions qui y sont faites au *Tristan*. On verrait alors qu'il a toujours combattu la conception sentimentale de la légende celtique, en dehors même du *Cligès*, qui en est, comme on le sait, la brillante réfutation. Aux yeux du maître du roman médiéval, *Tristan* est anti-social, et à cause de cela même, anti-français.

3. La Dame du Lac qui, invisible, semble dominer toute la partie profane du roman en exprime les tendances essentielles ; à cette sagesse mondaine et sentimentale s'oppose dans la *Quête du Graal* une morale irréductiblement opposée à celle-ci : celle de l'ascétisme austère des ermites blancs. Mais l'idée du dévouement absolu, du sacrifice librement consenti, est à la base des deux.

la belle dame de ce monde. L'écu qu'elle donne à son « nourrisson » et dont les deux moitiés se rejoignent quand l'inévitable est accompli, est bien le symbole de l'union, de la fusion complète de ces deux forces : la beauté souveraine de la femme, la prouesse chevaleresque de l'homme.

Le coup de foudre jaillit ici du fond même de l'âme virile en pleine conscience qui accepte l'amour comme un dépôt sacré, comme un trésor qu'il faut pieusement garder et accroître par l'épanouissement de tous les dons naturels.

Dans *Tristan* l'amour n'a pas d'âge. Au contraire l'amour de Lancelot parcourt toute la gamme des émotions, passe de l'adolescence à l'âge mûr et, sans vieillir, ayant suivi la courbe harmonieuse de la vie terrestre, se fixe enfin au faîte, telle une étoile d'or au firmament immobile. Que d'humilité et de noble douceur dans ce sacrifice total de l'égoïsme masculin, et quel rare sentiment de mesure, quel équilibre intérieur chez lui ! Jamais il ne songera à soumettre l'univers à sa loi, en méconnaissant les droits de la vie, telle qu'elle existe.

Nulle part la discipline parfaite, trop parfaite sans doute au gré des cœurs sans frein, de ce sentiment heureusement équilibré ne nous apparaîtra avec plus d'évidence que dans l'épisode de notre roman qui fait pendant à la vie dans la forêt des amants de Cornouailles. Guenièvre, bannie par traîtrise de la cour de son époux, accepte l'hospitalité de Galehaut, ami de Lancelot et seigneur du Sorelois. Le « fils de la Géante » croit, en assurant au couple exilé un refuge où cacher leurs amours leur donner le bonheur. Il n'en est rien : cette existence cachée dans l'ombre, sans gloire ni honneur, répugne à Lancelot, le fait souffrir secrètement, surtout pour la reine méconnue. Et tous deux ne seront heureux que le jour où justice sera faite, où

Arthur, convaincu de l'innocence de sa femme, chassera la fausse Guenièvre et rendra à la vraie sa place à ses côtés, sur le trône de ses ancêtres. Quel contraste avec Tristan et Iseut exilés ensemble, goûtant la joie parfaite dans la verte solitude des bois, oubliant le monde avec délices jusqu'au jour où leur abri est découvert par un hasard imprévu ! Car si Guenièvre est reine avant tout, et Lancelot le serviteur dévoué non le vassal d'Arthur, Iseut, elle, n'est que femme et Tristan n'est qu'amant. La différence que nous voyons dans ces deux attitudes semble d'abord tout à l'avantage du couple de Cornouailles. Cependant les meilleurs esprits du XIII^e^ siècle ne jugeaient sûrement pas ainsi. Ce qu'ils admiraient par dessus tout dans l'amour, ce n'était ni sa fougue impétueuse, ni son fol orgueil à se suffire lui-même ; au débordement du torrent qui mugit dans un désert ils préféraient le courant plus calme et plus large du fleuve nourricier de la terre. Il plaisait à ces clairs esprits français, qui réintégraient si volontiers la raison dans le sentiment, que les amours bien ordonnées de Lancelot et de la reine, épouse du roi Arthur, se déployassent au grand jour de la vie courtoise, de la célèbre Table Ronde, école de toutes les vertus chevaleresques. La crudité de l'adultère est voilée ici par un rideau de conventions mondaines, dont quelques unes ont un caractère de belle tenue morale. En effet, si nous regardons de plus près nous verrons que le *Lancelot* propre, loin d'être l'interminable histoire des rendez-vous du héros avec son amie, n'est que l'ample récit de son « service » ; des fugitives rencontres avec Guenièvre on parle à peine, et toute l'attention se concentre sur un tout autre objet : sur l'action héroïque, mue par la passion secrète. Cette passion reste toujours présente à tous les yeux, mais elle ne s'étale pas au premier plan et surtout n'est jamais une fin en elle-même, comme dans *Tristan*. Là les scènes d'amour,

et toutes leurs conséquences qui gravitent autour d'elles forment la trame et la matière du roman inimaginable sans la volupté qu'il distille. Rien de pareil dans notre *Lancelot*, où le héros vit volontairement éloigné sur le sage conseil de la Dame du Lac, de la cour royale, contemplant de loin son rêve enfermé dans la tour d'ivoire. Il ne revient que de temps en temps, après une prouesse ou une aventure exceptionnellement brillante « dont tout le monde parle », après de longs mois, quelquefois des années de séparation, bien loin sa dame. Mainte fois il disparaît mystérieusement, et les « quêtes », de Lancelot, si fréquentes dans notre roman, s'éternisent, font désespérer de son retour celle qui l'attend toujours sans jamais l'appeler auprès d'elle. Vis-à-vis de lui-même notre héros observe une règle de conduite sévère, s'impose une discipline de fer, et pourtant la fidélité scrupuleuse qu'il garde à la reine semble ne lui coûter aucun effort, faire partie de son être aussi chaste qu'ardent. Nombreuses et diverses sont les femmes qui s'éprennent de ce héros incomparable qui sait les aider, les protéger avec tant de force, leur parler avec tant de douceur et de pitié ; c'est l'hommage naturel du sexe faible au chevalier sans peur et sans reproche, champion de toute cause juste et bonne. Aucune n'obtient de lui ni le triomphe d'un désir ni la grâce d'un regret. Il passe à côté de ces fleurs qui parfument le monde, calme, distant et distrait [1]. Rappelons nous ces deux scènes qui se font pendant, peut-être intentionnellement, celle de Tristan avec Iseut aux Blanches Mains qu'il vient d'épouser pour oublier l'autre, et celle de Lancelot, obligé malgré lui de partager la couche d'une pucelle qui s'offre à lui dans la *Char-*

1. L'exception en faveur de la future mère de Galaad n'est qu'apparente, puisqu'il s'agit d'un véritable guet-apens, d'une substitution de personnes ...

rette, Tristan lutte contre la tentation et finit par vaincre l'élan qui le porte vers sa jeune femme. Thomas nous dit expressément :

> Le desir qu'ad vers la reïne
> Tolt le voleir vers la meschine,
> Le desir lui tolt le voleir,
> Que nature n'i ad paer .. (V. 649-52).

C'est une belle victoire sans doute pour l'amour. Quant à Lancelot, il n'éprouve qu'une vive répulsion pour sa compagne de hasard et s'en écarte immédiatement, sans éprouver le moindre trouble. L'œuvre de chair ne peut plus le toucher par elle-même, car chez lui vraiment « l'âme enveloppe le corps ». Cela nous apparaît d'une manière plus éclatante encore dans son idylle avec la demoiselle d'Astolat, renouvelée par Tennyson. La vierge qui aime Lancelot *jusqu'à en mourir* est pour l'homme vieillissant et solitaire le dernier espoir d'une vie de paisible tendresse, d'une famille possible, l'appel même du vrai bonheur ici-bas. Mais avec quelle inexorable fermeté il écarte cet espoir ! Et le rêve ensoleillé s'éloigne, flotte, en pâlissant, sur la mer qui l'emporte dans le néant, tandis que les lèvres blanches de la victime parée semblent murmurer leur mélancolique refrain :

> « Sweet love, that seems not made to fade away
> Sweet death that seems to make us loveless clay :
> I know not which is sweeter, no, not I !
> (*Lancelot and Elaine*).

Il y a bien de la mélancolie dans ce renoncement de Lancelot aux joies humaines. Il y a aussi de la cruauté — comme dans toute force qui s'affirme, et surtout il y a une grandeur réelle qui nous frappe. Peu à peu on est de plus en plus pénétré par la conviction qu'il ne s'agît nullement pour Lancelot d'être heureux, mais seulement de vivre son idéal, de réaliser sa destinée

héroïque. Ses exploits sont de vrais travaux d'Hercule, imposés il est vrai par sa propre volonté de ne jamais faillir. L'amour est la source éternellement renaissante où il puise ses vertus. Tristan, avant le boire fatal, guerrier redoutable, devient, après avoir absorbé ce poison, l'esclave de sa passion destructrice de gloire et d'honneur : Hercule filant aux pieds d'Omphale !

Et Lancelot qui *onques del beverage ne bui*? Avant d'aimer, il n'était qu'un noble jouvenceau au sang impétueux, aux aspirations généreuses. Dès qu'il aime, dès qu'il s'éprend de la reine, il commence rapidement l'ascension qui le mène au sommet de la renommée. Lui-même le déclare, et avec quelle fierté légitime! — à Guenièvre qui se reproche à elle-même d'empêcher l'ami d'accomplir la haute aventure du Graal : « Sachiés que je ne fuisse ja venu à si grant hautesce comme je sui, se vous ne fuissiés, car ja n'eusse je cuer de ma chevalerie commencher ne d'emprendre les choses que li autres laissoient par defaut de povoir. Mais ce que je baoie à vous et à vostre très grant biauté mist mon cuer en l'orguel où il estoit, si que je ne peuse trover nulle aventure que je ne meisse bien à chef. Car je savoie bien si je ne povoie passer les aventures par proece que à vous n'avendroie jou ja. Et il me convint avenir ou morir! Donc je vous di vraiement que ce estoit la chose qui plus acroissoit mes vertus [1] ».

Sur le plan terrestre, muni une fois pour toutes de son talisman, fleur de chevalerie, amant, ami admirable, à toute épreuve Lancelot est invincible. Il se présente à nous comme le défenseur du royaume de Logres,

1. (Sommer, t. V, p. 193). La même profession de foi, moins vibrante, nous la retrouvons dans la bouche de Lancelot, déjà contrit, dans son entretien avec le premier ermite, quand il touche au seuil de la pénitence dans la *Quête du Graal*.

comme le bras droit du roi Arthur qui a pour lui la plus grande estime et la plus sincère affection. On s'étonne de la dignité si calme de la sécurité de Lancelot, jamais troublé ou hésitant en face de celui dont il possède la femme. Ce sentiment lui vient sans doute de sa foi en la noblesse d'un amour qui l'attache à tout jamais à la gloire d'Arthur et de la Table Ronde. Sa faute, inconnue de tous, il la rachète par une vie de dévouement et d'abnégation. Sur cette conviction qui n'est sans doute qu'un sophisme moral, d'autant plus dangereux que plus séduisant, est construite toute la partie profane de notre roman, éclatante synthèse de l'esprit courtois, cruellement flétri plus tard. Le conflit entre le devoir et l'amour qui fait le tragique du *Tristan*, n'existe pas ici. Mais un autre conflit, plus grave, plus redoutable, se prépare déjà au fond des consciences. Il ne s'agit pas, il ne peut pas s'agir d'une incompatibilité entre la passion individuelle et la vie sociale, puisque la première alimente et féconde la seconde ; il s'agit de l'incompatibilité de la vie selon la chair et de la vie selon l'esprit. L'amour libre n'est plus une infraction aux lois humaines, il devient une violation de la loi divine. Du monde sensible, où se déroule l'action romanesque, nous nous élevons d'un coup d'ailes dans une région plus haute, dans le monde céleste où brille la lumière pure. Et le problème moral se transforme en problème religieux. A la place du drame de conscience, indiqué dans *Tristan*, absent du *Lancelot* propre, nous avons une tragédie métaphysique, la tragédie de l'âme chrétienne.

La thèse sentimentale de notre roman semblerait inattaquable s'il suffisait de juger l'arbre à ses fruits. Mais Dieu juge autrement : il s'en prend aux origines mêmes du mal universel, à ses racines secrètes et profondes qui sont l'orgueil et la luxure. Substituer à

l'adoration du Créateur l'idolâtrie de la créature, ce n'est pas une faute, ou même un péché, c'est un sacrilège.

La grandeur sombre et majestueuse de la seconde partie du *Lancelot*, consacrée à la quête du Graal, c'est-à-dire de la divinité, réside dans l'antagonisme de deux forces inconciliables : d'une part, l'exaltation du principe spirituel dans toute son austère nudité, de l'autre l'éternelle glorification de la nature raffinée par l'apport de la civilisation dans toute sa riche plénitude, dans tout ce qu'elle offre d'irrésistible aux regards, aux imaginations et aux cœurs. Historiquement parlant, ce sont déjà le Moyen-Age et la Renaissance qui s'affrontent sur la scène de ce roman d'aventure, où passent, les uns après les autres, les souffles de la terre et de l'au-delà. La lutte en plein XIII^e^ siècle ne pouvait être qu'inégale : elle devait finir par l'écroulement de tout un monde, le monde de l'enchantement breton, du culte, éphémère en apparence, précurseur en réalité, de la Dame. Lentement, sous nos yeux, le monde se décompose, s'effrite. Longtemps le magnifique édifice semble intact, bien qu'intérieurement lézardé; jusqu'à la fin il garde son imposante façade qui ne s'écroulera que sous le coup de grâce du destin. La catastrophe s'annonce déjà dans l'*Agravain*, prologue de la *Quête* mystique, où la nature humaine s'incline enfin humblement devant la sainteté. Là est l'enseignement esotérique de cette œuvre où commence, sans s'achever, la rédemption d'Adam-Lancelot, symbole de l'humanité déchue et renaissante.

Lancelot aura beau se défendre en défendant avec courage et fermeté l'idée qu'il a fait sienne; celle de l'amour justifié par les actes de l'amour-service : l'impitoyable ascétisme des « prudhommes » blancs qui lui indiquent son chemin de pénitence s'y opposeront de toute leur autorité. Ils lui prêcheront, par l'exemple

et par la parole, le mépris, l'horreur du péché charnel et de l'idolâtrie, sacrilège par lui consommé. Et son fils Galaad « fleur de la chevalerie célestienne » lui montrera silencieusement l'unique et étroite voie du salut.

Ebranlé, bouleversé, Lancelot finira par se rendre, par s'avouer vaincu. Jamais il ne reniera ouvertement son idéal, tout en renonçant pour quelques jours seulement à celle qui inspira cet idéal. N'y a-t-il pas, d'ailleurs, quelque chose d'infiniment troublant dans ce fait que le héros de l'amour profane ait engendré le héros de l'amour sacré, n'y a-t-il pas ici une filiation mystique certaine? Autre observation qui nous frappe en étudiant la *Quête* : ce n'est pas le crime d'adultère que la kyrielle des ermites, acharnés après le salut de cette âme d'élite, reproche à Lancelot, non, c'est le péché de concupiscence qui, selon la doctrine de l'Eglise catholique, est le signe même de la corruption. Impossible d'effacer cette tache qui ternit toute vertu, sans une longue et dure pénitence, d'ailleurs toujours incomplète... Cependant, à celui qui a beaucoup aimé il sera beaucoup pardonné, et Lancelot sera admis un jour au nombre des rares appelés — non élus — par la grâce. Mais il a bu trop longtemps en s'enivrant de volupté, la coupe enchanteresse de l'amour profane, pour goûter pleinement à l'autre, à la coupe du sang divin sur la table de la Vie. La seule qui lui reste encore à vider jusqu'à la lie, c'est le calice de la souffrance sur la table de la Mort.

L'ultime douleur réservée à Lancelot du Lac sera l'ébranlement inavoué de cette foi morale qui lui permettait auparavant de marcher la tête haute, sans crainte ni remords. Pour qu'il oblique, il fallait aussi que s'affaiblît en lui, sous le fardeau de l'âge, des soucis, de l'ingratitude humaine, l'instinct vital, si puissant naguère. Dans la *Mort d'Arthur*, que nous avons déjà appelée ailleurs le « Crépuscule des héros », on sent

dès le début chez Lancelot une lassitude secrète qui le ronge, et plus encore chez la reine Guenièvre elle-même. Elle a perdu sa belle assurance ancienne, son intangible fierté, et ses défauts, la jalousie, la volonté tyrannique, se sont accentués avec les années. La Dame est devenue irascible, injuste et dure envers son trop fidèle serviteur, peut-être parce qu'elle doute de sa toute puissance depuis l'aventure du Graal. Et, à travers ses caprices et sa nervosité, on sent palpiter, frémir le cœur meurtri, comme usé, de l'ami qui décline. L'invisible armure ne le protège plus contre les coups redoublés du sort menaçant son bonheur. Par la fissure secrète entrera le Destin qui attend toujours pour nous frapper qu'une porte s'entr'ouvre dans notre âme... Lancelot est de taille, il est vrai, à se mesurer contre tous les malheurs, il appartient à la race des héros qui ne peuvent être vaincus que par eux-mêmes.

Nous ne pouvons retracer l'une après l'autre toutes les épreuves de Lancelot, nous ne pouvons qu'indiquer les étapes dernière de son calvaire. Le fond de tableau, sur lequel se détache cette silhouette solitaire et désolée, s'assombrit de jour en jour. La bataille décisive s'engage entre le héros et la légion de ses ennemis, hier encore ses amis les meilleurs. Une à une, il voit se dénouer toutes les attaches qui le retenaient à la vie, crouler toutes ses joies, toutes ses espérances;

L'heure du dénouement approche et voici devant nous, toute nue, une âme en détresse, âme coulée dans le plus noble métal, vulnérable pourtant. Lancelot ne peut disparaître sans comprendre l'erreur tragique de son existence terrestre. Tous les voiles se déchirent : une dernière fois une flamme s'élève haute et fière, la flamme de la passion, jaillie des entrailles mêmes du cœur viril, avant de s'éteindre dans les cendres grises de la pénitence et de la mort. Et puis c'est le déluge final où s'engloutit le royaume de Logres. Un monde de beauté, de fantaisie et de gloire a vécu.

Des flots déchaînés par la tourmente montent à la surface trois inoubliables figures : celles du Roi, du Héros, de la Dame.

Le premier est mystérieusement emporté dans un asile féerique, à l'Ile d'Avalon ; là, perdu dans les songes, Arthur attendra pendant la durée des siècles à venir, le jour de son retour légendaire : une main s'agite au-dessus de l'eau pour saisir l'épée royale et le dernier des grands chefs celtiques n'est plus qu'un souvenir au fond des cœurs.

L'autre figure, symbolique et vivante, la Dame, divinité tant encensée, se dissout presque entièrement dans la brume qui s'épaissit autour d'elle ; à la veille du grand départ, elle s'enferme au couvent, tombe vivante, d'où ne s'échappe que le murmure des prières. Enfin le Héros, dernier survivant de cette triade devenue indissoluble, s'enveloppe, lui aussi, du suaire de la pénitence et de l'expiation. Rien n'est plus émouvant que le silencieux adieu de la Lancelot à l'inspiratrice, déjà morte, de ses rêves d'adolescent, de jeune chevalier et d'homme mûr, rêve dans lequel prend corps toute une conception de la vie, de l'art, de la société : la terre mensongèrement belle abdique devant le ciel immaculé. Cette abdication si poignante sonne le glas funèbre du Moyen Age romantique et courtois, dont l'aventure est si merveilleuse qu'elle lui fait pardonner, au nom de l'illusion, créatrice de beauté, la cruelle réalité où il a vécu pendant des siècles d'histoire.

Toute cette fresque monumentale du *Lancelot-Graal*, véritable *Somme* de l'amour sacré et de l'amour profane, peut-être considérée comme la mise en scène dramatique de l'éternelle lutte : la lutte entre la matière, parée de ses séductions les plus subtiles, et entre l'esprit, exempt de toute souillure charnelle.

Sur le plan de l'amour profane se déroule sous nos

yeux une série de tableaux, choisis avec art, et ces tableaux nous peignent une vision sentimentale de haute beauté, mais très différente du vieux *Tristan*. Dans les poèmes d'inspiration celtique qui, sous une forme inconnue de nous, remontent bien au de là du XII^e^ siècle, se fait entendre le chant de l'immortelle berceuse, de notre mère à tous, la Nature. Le féodalisme, l'esprit médiéval, plus ou moins teinté de courtoisie, ne sont ici qu'un vêtement qui glisse et qui tombe au premier geste, découvrant la divine nudité de l'instinct qu'il recouvre Il est vrai que l'amoralisme païen de l'ancienne légende est comme estompé dans les œuvres des XII^e^ et XIII^e^ siècles, mais la note dominante reste toujours la même ; l'action, ramassée sur elle-même, se ramène toute entière à un duo d'amour : à l'exaltation d'une passion toujours inassouvie, à l'hymme désolé et triomphant de la volupté et de la mort.

En face de Tristan l' « Amoureux » qui a eu notre Moyen Age seulement pour père adoptif, voici, Lancelot du Lac, l'ami, non l'amant pur et simple, type nouveau, imaginé, créé par les trouvères français pour incarner un nouvel idéal : l'amour-vertu au service de l'humanité. Ici l'art s'ajoute, se superpose à la nature pour la corriger, pour épurer, ennoblir le sentiment qu'elle fait naître au plus profond du cœur chevaleresque.

Tristan représente l'amant éternel tel qu'il est, Lancelot c'est l'amant tel qu'il doit être.

A NOTE

ON

PUNJAB LEGEND

IN

RELATION TO ARTHURIAN ROMANCE

MARTHA WARREN BECKWITH

It is the purpose of this paper to point out certain incidents in Punjab legend which suggest direct comparison with similar incidents in Arthurian romance and may therefore throw some light upon their original form.

The legends of the Punjab are recited to-day by illiterate bards to a people no less unlearned. In this form they have been made available to English readers in Sir Richard Temple's edition of fifty-nine legends, with text and translation, and in the published collections of the Rev. Charles Swynnerton and of Mrs. Flora Annie Steele [1]. The language is that of the folk and follows a conventional form, the songs being composed in couplets of the same language and meter — a rustic dialect of the Punjab « of the purest dialectic verna-

1. Temple, *Legends of the Panjab*, 3 volumes, London; Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales from the Panjâb*, Westminster, 1903; Steele, *Tales of the Punjab*, London, 1894.

cular » — and the prose « in the ordinary Urdu language of the day » [1].

According to Temple, bards in the Punjab take rank according to the kind of legend they relate [2]. The bard proper, descended from those singers who formerly occupied an honored place in the courts of the grandees, recites the national legends and tales of warlike achievement. The priestly class tell sacred legends, often cast in the form of religious plays partly sung and partly acted by the bard and his company especially at the religious festivals held in the Spring and Autumn. Another class of priestly bards tell the legend of some particular saint, Hindoo or Mohammedan, at the festival to his honor. A third class of bards sing ballads at weddings and merry-makings. A fourth class belong to the outcasts of India and preserve in legend the objects of their worship. Besides these four classes, there are village bards in the hills who recite local legends, and wandering saints and miracle-workers who tell tales to instruct the people. The material from which these bards draw is always traditional, but does not necessarily represent pure Indian tradition. More than one race has ruled the Punjab and mingled its culture with that of the Aryan immigrant. In the 3rd century, B. C., the Greeks under Alexander found in the upper Punjab a people of wealth and culture. The Scythians followed the Greeks and were absorbed into the Indian civilization of the Punjab. When the Mohammedan invasion overthrew this Hindoo culture, the bards adapted their songs to the Mohammedan doctrines of the conquerors.

An important Punjab cycle of tales centers about

1. *Indian Antiquary*, XI (1882), 347.

2. Temple, *Legends* I, preface, viii ; cf. Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales*, introduction.

the hero Rasalu, son of Salwan (or Sahilvan), the first Scythian king of the Punjab, who reigned about 90 A. D. [1] He represents the Saka line of kings who overthrew the Vikramaditya and ruled the Punjab until the 8th century A. D. According to legend, Salwan is the son of an Aryan woman who was wooed by a serpent, that is, by a man of the Scythian or non-Aryan race. Of the hero Rasalu the historical identity is doubtful. The name may mean « lord » and belong to a line of rulers. Temple thinks that the Rasalu legends are « representative of the Hindu, or perhaps Buddhist, opponents of the first Arab invaders of India in the eighth and ninth centuries of our era » and embodied legends drawn from Scythian sources [2]. However this may be, the stories are told to-day as pure folk-tale localized within the modern Punjab, although not without dispute as to the exact localities involved, and celebrating Punjab families who claim to-day descent from the heroes mentioned in the story [3].

The story of Rasalu and his half brother, Puran, runs briefly as follows :

Puran is the son of Raja Salwan of Sialkot by his first

1. Temple, *Legends*, I, 1-65, 243-366 ; II, 375-456 ; III, 227-241 ; *Indian Antiquary*, XI (1882), 347-349 ; Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales*, 1-325, 409-441 ; *The Adventures of the Punjab Hero, Rasalu*, Calcutta, 1884 ; *Folk-Lore Journal*, I (1883), 129-152. P. Abbott, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1854, 123-163. (See Temple's note, *Indian Antiquary*, XII (1883), 303-308). Steele, *Tales of the Punjab*, 234-266.

2. Temple, *Indian Antiquary*, XIII (1884), 178-183 ; *Legends*, II, preface ix-x. For the dynastic character of the name see Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales*, introduction, xl-xlii.

3. I am told that the Rasalu stories are related in India by Hindoo priests in order to convey to a simple people the teachings of the Hindoo religion as set down in the *Bhagaya gita*, but I have had no opportunity to verify this observation.

wife. When the youth is sent to pay his respects to the Rajah's younger wife, she falls in love with him and attempts his seduction. Enraged at her failure, she accuses him to her husband and causes him to be thrown, maimed, into a pit where he is miraculously preserved for twelve years until a holy man restores to him his eyes and limbs. Taking upon himself the service of the jogi, Puran returns to beg at the palace gate. When he enters his own garden, the flowers which have withered since his misfortune revive and flourish. At this miracle, the young wife comes to him to implore a son and heir, and he predicts the birth of a son who will live a stormy life.

Rasalu is born in answer to the prophecy. In most versions of the story, he is banished from court because of his destructive tendencies; in one version (Mrs Steele's) he leaves home in a rage because when he comes to court his father and mother, intimidated by a prophecy of doom should they look upon his face before he is twelve years old, avert their faces from him. He rides away to Jhilam, now held by a usurper of his kin, and restores it to his own family by means of a bow of steel which none but himself can draw and three invincible arrows « which never failed to hit and which he never failed to recover ».

In an interview with a famous fakir, who appears to him first in the form of a hungry tiger which vanishes as soon as Rasalu draws his arrow, it is prophesied to him that he is destined to meet and overcome single-handed « the stone giants of Gandgarh », and he is warned against drawing his sword against the innocent.

Between the prophecy and its fulfilment there intervenes an account of Rasalu's return to Sialkot, where he is betrothed, but, being publicly mocked by his lady-love, he insults her by fleeing on the day of the marriage. He makes his way to Mecca and incites the Hazrat to a holy war against his father Salwan because, among other things, he refuses to become a Mohammedan. At the storming of the city, the Hazrat performs many supernatural feats; among others, he achieves the fall of the gates by hurling his own head against them and going on fighting headless.

Other episodes of the cycle follow without any particular

coherence. Rasalu appears as a jogi begging before the gate of Rani Sundra, the beautiful. Mishrikari, the sweet lute-player, dies because he fails to observe Rasalu's warning. With other rajas Rasalu exchanges wise observations.

Finally he is prompted by dream to attack the stone giants of Gandgarh. In this expedition he appears as the predestined hero who is to bring doom to the giants whom all others have feared to attack.

Proceeding on his way, after this predestined achievement, he rescues a drowning hedge-hog and allows it to travel with him to some place of safety. When later he falls into the power of a snake and a raven who have sworn to take his life, it is the grateful hedgehog, together with his attendant horse and parrot, who saves Rasalu's life and kills his two enemies [1].

Rasalu now visits the perilous castle of a magician, Raja Sirikap of Sirikot, a very dangerous person who takes off the head of anyone whom he defeats at the game of chaupat. Advised by a corpse whom he meets on the way, Rasalu is able successfully to meet all the obstacles opposed by the wiley magician to his entrance into the castle, and finally to win his host's head at the famous game of chaupat; but he releases Sirikap in exchange for the life of the magician's infant daughter, whom he betroths as his bride in spite of warning prophecies, and who finally brings about his doom.

The last legend of the cycle, which varies scarcely at all in the various versions already recorded, tells how he weds Kokal, the « sweet-cooing dove », when she comes of age, and shuts her up in a castle guarded by mynah-birds, or parrots. One day he takes her out hunting. A blue buck is attracted by her beauty, and the jealous husband cuts off its ears and tail with his hunting-knife. The buck in revenge entices to the lonely castle during the absence of its master a neighboring Raja named Hodi. The two young people love

1. In one version (Temple, I, 45), the snake and the raven attack Rasalu in the garden of Sirikap's castle and are among the obstacles opposed by that magician to Rasalu's approach.

each other and are discovered and slain by Rasalu. This deed creates a feud with Raja Hodi's kinsmen, who storm Rasalu's castle and kill Rasalu in the battle which follows. Some say, however, that Rasalu did not die but went into the Ganges and will return some day to the Punjab.

The two main incidents of the Rasalu story are the fight with the « stone giants of Gandgarh » and the match with the head-chopping magician, Raja Sirikap, at the castle of Sirikot. The first of these episodes I take to be a Medusa witch story; the hero encounters giants who have the power of transforming themselves into stone (or, according to one version, the hero himself has the power of working such transformation upon others). The second episode is a match with a magician at a perilous castle. The first story runs in some detail as follows :

In a desolate city, Rasalu finds a woman baking bread, who tells him that every day the giants of Gandgarh claim from the citizens a toll of bread, an animal and a human victim, until now the city is well-nigh empty and she is sending the last of her seven sons to satisfy the monsters. Rasalu offers himself as the youth's substitute and accompanies the lad as he goes forth to meet the giants. The first who approaches is the gigantic water-carrier of the giants [1], who snatches the bread and is about to eat it when Rasalu cuts off his hand and recovers the loaves. The water-carrier escapes, crying out to his brothers to flee, for Rasalu is come who has been foretold to bring doom to their race. One of the giants advances to meet Rasalu. He is bald-headed, and Rasalu brings him down with one of his invincible arrows. Some of the giants to whom Rasalu declares his name and that of his mother, « for she was a fairy », are for retreating at once ; but the leader of the giants advances and, laying a finger on his right nostril, blows

1. In Abbot's version the water-carrier stalks up as a column of cloud.

through his left until a storm follows which lasts for forty days. When Rasalu remains unharmed, he blows for eighty days and eighty nights with both nostrils. Still Rasalu remains unmoved, although « no stone or tree or animal was left within a radius of a hundred miles ». The giants now put Rasalu to such tests as shooting an arrow through seven iron griddles at once and eating iron for food, as predicted in their sacred books. These tests being successfully met, in despair the leader turns himself into stone and the others all flee. Rasalu finds the leader's giant wife in a palace hard by and in return for the promise of marriage extorts from her the secret of life in the stone in order to slay the giant hidden in the stone. He burns to death another giant who has hidden himself under a pile of brush. Others of the brood he pierces with his arrows. Only the water-carrier escapes, and him Rasalu imprisons within the cave of Gandgarh, where you may hear his roars of terror to this day. Mindful of his promise to the giantess, he pretends the rite of marriage and flings her into the cauldron about which the two are parading in accordance with the Indian marriage custom [1]. Thus the race of the giants is destroyed.

The second episode, that of the visit to Sirikap of Sirikot, runs briefly as follows :

On the way to the castle, Rasalu encounters a headless corpse who offers him counsel. He was the Raja's own

1. I follow Swynnerton's latest version. In another version, Rasalu himself turns the giant into stone. In some versions, the witch is the sole survivor. In Temple (I, 20) she, not the water-carrier, escapes into the cave. In another version, she sinks into the ground uttering a prophecy of Rasalu's doom. In at least one version, the witch is represented not as enamoured of Rasalu, but as proposing marriage as a blind to get Rasalu into her power. He, however, as in the familiar folk-tale of Hansel and Gretel, sees through the trick and burns the witch in the fire she has prepared for him. In Abbot, she is forced to reveal the spell. In all the versions, the witch appears as the ultimate enemy. So, in the *Beowulf* story, the hero follows the wounded monster into his mother's lair.

brother, but this did not prevent the Raja from beheading him when he had no other victim at hand. The corpse advises Rasalu of the obstacles at the entrance to the castle. These are, first, a magic storm; second, a gong which dulls the senses of all who strike it; third, a swing in which the daughters of Sirikap enjoy swinging and which takes away the senses of anyone who passes under it. He also advises Rasalu how to overcome the magician's tricks in the game of chaupat. Rasalu safely encounters the obstacles of the castle entrance, wins a match at riddling, and by means of the aid given him by the corpse, gains the head of the magician at the game of chaupat. Sirikap tries to hide himself, but is dragged out and would have been killed had not Rasalu seen the infant daughter of the magician being borne out to die because it was thought she had brought bad luck to her father, and offered the magician his life in exchange for his daughter's.

The two episodes of Sirikap and the stone giants follow somewhat the same pattern. Obstacles are opposed to guard the hero's approach. The match with Raja Sirikap also contains a magic storm, although in this case the method of bringing it about is not described. There are tests of skill and strength. As the giant tries to escape death by hiding in stone, so the magician pretends that he will take leave of his family and hides in the filth of the stable. A lady acts as the final opponent to the hero's complete victory.

Several of the incidents of the stone giant and the Sirikap episodes here outlined bear a striking resemblance to the adventures of Owain-Iwain in the story of the *Lady at the Fountain* and of Percival-Peredur in the series of adventures with the Red Knight, the witches of Gloucester, and the grail castle. In the three obstacles at the entrance to Sirikap's castle, it is not difficult to recognize those so familiar to us in the Anglo-Norman romance of the *Knight of the Lion* [1].

1. *Mabinogion* (Everyman edition), 158.

In the Welsh version, *Lady at the Fountain*, Owain perceives a fountain and a slab beside the fountain with a bowl on it. He throws a bowlful of water upon the slab and « lo, the thunder was heard, and after the thunder came the shower, much more violent than Kynon had described, and after the shower the sky became bright. And when Owain looked at the tree, there was not one leaf upon it. And immediately the birds came, and settled upon the tree, and sang. And when their song was most pleasing to Owain, he beheld a knight coming towards him through the valley, and he prepared to receive him. » The knight, having received a mortal wound, flees, closely followed by Owain. Then « Owain descried a vast and resplendent Castle. And they came to the castle gate. And the black knight was allowed to enter, and the portcullis was let fall upon Owain; and it struck his horse behind the saddle, and cut him in two, and carried away the rowels of the spurs that were upon Owain's heels. And the portcullis descended to the floor. And the rowels of the spurs and part of the horse remained between the two gates, and the inner gate was closed, so that Owain could not go thence; and Owain was in a perplexing situation. » Thus the hero encounters, first, a magic storm, next, a singing of birds, and last, a draw-bridge which almost shuts down upon him. The singing of birds is not directly motivated in the Arthurian story, but the phrase « when their song was most pleasing to Owain » must imply benumbing of the hero's senses by the sweetness of the sound, just as, at Sirikap's castle, the sound of the gongs causes a man to lose his wits. This is exactly the kind of change which a story-teller would make in a story in which a familiar sensation was derived from an unfamiliar cause. He would retain the incident and substitute a familiar cause. In the same way the

remarkable « swing » of the Punjab episode, which takes away the wits of all who pass under it, is metamorphosed into the portcullis of the Owain story. In other stories, a « perilous passage » of this sort into the « castle of wonders » is described in such detail as to suggest more directly the comparison with the Sirikap swing. For example, in the Irish romance of the « Wooing of Emer » the description runs [1] : « For on this wise was that bridge. It had two low heads and the mid space, and whenever anybody would leap on its one head, the other head would lift itself up and throw him on his back ».

In some Punjab versions of the approach to a perilous castle, there is also a fight with a champion corresponding to that with the knight who guards the fountain, but only in the story of the « stone giants » is the storm-making power directly ascribed to such a champion and to one who later conceals himself by turning into stone. In discussions of the source of the Owain-Iwain romance, a good deal has been written about the rain-making feature of the fountain in its relation to Roman cult and peasant superstition, in order to find out exactly what idea lay back of the episode of the fight at the fountain [2]. In this connection Dr. Nitze justly remarks that « what produces the storm is not the fountain but the pouring of water on the stone ». I should like to go one step further and ask whether the stone itself is not meant to be represented as a rain-making deity and hence may not be

1. I quote from Miss Dunn in her *Drawbridge of the Graal Castle*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 33 (1918), 399-405, see page 400.

2. Nitze, W. A., *Modern Philology*, 3, 267-280 ; 7, 145-164.
Morgan, Louise, *Modern Philology*, 6, 331-341.
Brown, A. C. L., *Harvard Studies and Notes*, 8 ; *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, 13, 673-706 ; *Modern Philology*, 9, 109-128 ; 17, 375. Foerster, *Ivain* (ed. 1902).

interpreted as the transformed champion who, in response to the challenge which effects his restoration, rides out to encounter the hero. Is it not possible that the knight of the fountain in his chivalric dress is one with the Punjab giant who summons the storm by placing a finger upon one nostril and blowing through the other, and who escapes into a stone until he is exorcised thence by the predestined hero?

In support of this suggestion I shall cite an instance of a rain-making deity from a locality quite remote indeed from both places under discussion, but one which will serve to prove that such a metamorphosis may seem perfectly natural to the primitive mind. In the dry bed of a certain valley in the mountains of Hawaii there stands a mass of lava rock which the natives still regard with awe as a demi-god transformed by the wrath of the volcano goddess, Pélé, and as a rain-god who can be stirred up to send rain over the valley by striking the rock with a peculiarly marked fish or with a plant whose leaves bear similar markings. No water of any kind is connected with the rock, although it is possible that the volcanic eruption which formed the block of lava also choked the springs which once watered the valley and hence gave rise to the story of the rain-making god, Ku-Mauna. There is no idea of the god's re-transformation into human form at the time the storm takes place. Nevertheless the idea is here of a magic stone, once a demi-god in human form, who has the power to send rain when challenged in a particular way. Certainly the appearance of the mysterious slab beside the fountain suggests some such idea of metamorphosis.

And if this is admitted, may not the mysterious Lady of the Fountain be interpreted as a Medusa witch or Gorgon, who can turn into stone and restore to life again like the witch in the Gandgarh episode of the

Punjab story? The Gorgons are storm producers; sorceresses and[1] beautiful like Irish fairy mistresses; they dwell in the remote parts of Earth; they are both vengeful and beloved; they are also associated with the moon (in the Orphic epithet of « Gorgon-glance » for the moon's orb); hence such an explanation would satisfy every suggestion already put forth by mediaeval scholars to fix the identity of the enigmatical Lady of the Fountain. Nor is the Rasalu story lacking in those elements which, as in Dr. Foerster's early analysis, would connect a « Widow of Ephesus » theme with the mediaeval romance. In Swynnerton's version (already quoted) of Rasalu's encounter with the woman in the stone giant's palace, the lady is represented as enamoured of the young hero and ready to show him how to kill her giant husband if he will only promise to marry her.

Another episode of the Owain-Iwain romance besides that of the contest at the fountain may possibly become clearer by comparison with the Rasalu cycle. This is the curious episode of Lunet's imprisonment and release. She is imprisoned because she has boasted of the hero's strength, and she is tardily released by Owain after he has returned from rescuing a lady from a besieged city. One Punjab version of the match with Sirikap relates[2] that as Rasalu is walking outside the

1. See the excellent discussion of the *Gorgo* by Dr. Niese in the Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie* (Stuttgart, 1902). Escape from an enemy by changing into a stone does not often occur in European folk-tale, but it appears in Arthurian romance when Morgan le Fay (perhaps a Gorgon lady) so transforms herself and her company in order to escape Arthur's revenge after she has failed in her plot of the stolen sword.

2. Swynnerton, *Folk-Lore Journal*, I, 134-138. The version was « taken down from the mouth of a peasant of the upper Punjaub, living in a village under the very shadow of the Gangar ». In Mrs. Steele's version (*op. cit.*, page 266) Rasalu meets a

city of Sialkot in the evening, he hears a voice and discovers a princess chained by one foot in a cleft of the rock, who gives him directions how to proceed in order to overcome her father. She is daughter to the old magician and has been thus imprisoned because she once looked favorably upon one of her father's competitors and gave him a magic carpet to sit on in order that he might win the contest with her father. She says, « I knew by my powers of divination that a prince would come from a distant kingdom, strong and young, and that having cut off my father's head he would release me ». Rasalu forgets all about the girl in the excitement of the encounter, until he is leaving the city and hears her weeping. He then realizes that he has forgotten to stipulate for her release. He breaks her chain, takes her into the castle and forces her father to provide a suitable match for her. Although the episode occurs in only one recorded version of the Rasalu story, it must be old because it has no motivation as here rehearsed and must have been retained from habit rather than invented for embellishment. In every other version of the Sirikap story, Rasalu is forewarned by a headless corpse who asserts himself to be the brother of Sirikap; whose head-chopping propensity has not spared even his own kin [1].

Other incidents in the Owain story besides Lunet's imprisonment may be related to the Sirikap adven-

band of prisoners as he leaves the castle, and they call to him to have their chains loosed. In Temple, he frees « other prisoners ».

1. In Temple (I, 39), Rasalu restores the corpse to life. We have no evidence to connect this corpse of the Sirikap episode with that of the imprisoned lady's lover, for favoring whom she has lost her liberty. It would perhaps be too ingenious to suggest that the warning voice from the cliff-side and the warning corpse belonged, in earlier versions, to two separate encounters at the perilous castle.

ture. Owain's last adventure is at the « Court of the savage black man » whence he rescues four and twenty ladies « as sorrowful as death » whose lovers have all been slain by the tyrant[1]. They say, «We are the daughters of Earls, and we all came here with our husbands whom we dearly loved. And we were received with honor and rejoicing. And we were thrown into a state of stupor, and while we were thus, the demon who owns this castle slew all our husbands, and took from us our horses, and our raiment, and our gold, and our silver ; and the corpses of our husbands are still in this house, and many others with them ». Owain spares the black tyrant's life on this plea, « It was foretold that thou shouldst come hither and vanquish me, and thou hast done so. I was a robber here and my house was a house of spoil; but grant me my life and I will become the keeper of a Hospice, and I will maintain this house as an Hospice for weak and for strong, as long as I live, for the good of thy soul ». May not the Peredur episode of the reproachful lady whom Peredur, when he emerges for the first time from the Castle of Wonders after witnessing the bleeding lance and the head upon a salver, finds weeping over her slain husband's body, be related to that of the warning by a headless corpse and a chained lady in the Sirikap episode[2] ? The knight has been slain without cause by « the knight that is in the glade by the wood ». Peredur overthrows this knight and forces him to take the lady in marriage whose husband he has slain without cause, although if one were to judge by the pother the Lady of the Fountain makes over such a proposed reparation, the arrangement is not without its sentimental difficulties to the mediæval mind.

1. *Mabinogion*, 175.
2. Ibid, 185.

Not to dwell upon other familiar motives of the Owain-Iwain cycle and that of the Peredur-Perceval which suggest comparison with the Rasalu cycle, I should like to note further the possible light to be thrown upon the episode of the Red-Knight-Witch-Uncle in the Perceval story, and of the Nine Witches of Gloucester and the Addanc in the Peredur, by comparison with Rasalu's adventure with the « stone giants ». In the Punjab story, a hero, fairy born, is predestined to the destruction of the race of « stone giants ». He avenges the insult offered by the giant « water-carrier » to the lad whom he has promised to protect. In the *Perceval* romance, the insult is offered to the queen, whose drinking-cup the Red Knight carries away. In Celtic folk-tale it is often a king who suffers shame. Rasalu encounters a group of giants; in the *Perceval* romance interest is centered upon a single encounter — that with the Red Knight, but that there were originally a group of foes is indicated in *Peredur* by the way the story tails off with the subduing of sixteen other giants (for generous measure), all of whom are sent as pledge to Arthur's court. In the English *Sir Perceval* there is a curious coincidence between Perceval's way of disposing of the Red Knight and his mother, and Rasalu's conflict with the stone giants which can hardly be dismissed as matter of chance only. The first giant Rasalu shoots through the head with one of his invincible arrows; the second he slays after he has first learned how to unsheath him from his stone hiding; a third he burns under the bush in which he is hiding; finally, he throws into the fire the witch who knows the revivifying spell. If we conceive the Perceval romancer following some such artless tale as this, we shall see in his account of the fight with the Red Knight all the incident of the three-fold encounter. The Knight bares his head and Perceval sends a shaft through his eye.

In order to get him out of his armour (in which he may be hiding), Perceval burns the body. He finally burns the witch mother, who might have restored her son to life if his body had not been burned.

Dr. Griffith has shown the relation of this episode of the Red Knight's witch mother in *Sir Perceval of Galles*, as well as the Addanc adventure in *Peredur* and the hag battle detailed in Gerbert's « Continuation », to the episode of the life-restoring witch on the battle-field which occurs in a large group of Celtic folk-tales [1]. He thinks that the « Red-knight-witch-uncle » episode of the English Perceval story stood by itself as a separate tale before it got incorporated into the first « frame-tale » of the Perceval story. This first tale he thinks consisted in the story of a youth reared in a forest, who goes to the rescue of a lady. As contributing factors to the incorporated story he notes an insult to be avenged ; relations in the persons of an « uncle », three young men, a foster sister and a supernatural lady who acts as adviser ; a hag battle, with revivifying balm [2] ; and the overthrow of the insulter. But Griffith does not investigate beyond the Celtic field to discover the affiliations of this incorporated story. May it not be interpreted as a Medusa witch story? However remote it may seem from the

1. Griffith, Reginald Harvey, *Sir Perceval of Galles*, Chicago, 1911.

2. The plot of the hag battle is as follows : The hero fights by day with antagonists whom he slays, but finds each morning alive again. He remains awake on the battle-field and discovers a witch with a pot of ointment with which she restores the slain champions. He forces the pot from her, slays the revived champions, and uses the ointment for his own or his friend's restoration to life or health. This plot should be compared with the mumming play of « Golishan » or « St. George and the Turk » or the « Nine Worthies », a parallel long ago suggested by Mr. Alfred Nutt.

classic version in which Perseus smites off the head of the snaky locked Gorgon, a glance from whose eyes transforms men into stone, it has a parallel in the Medusa witch of folk-tale [1] as well as in the life-restoring hag of Celtic folk-tale, both of which are evidently variations of the Gorgon myth and as such must be interpreted [2]. May not Dr. Griffith's « interpolated story » upon the « framework tale » of

1. See Grimm. 6, « The Two Brothers ». Hartland (Legend of Perseus, 1, 17-70) brings together a large number of variants and shows how they are related to the classic Medusa story. Bolte u. Polivka (*Anmerkungen z. d. Kinder- u. Hausmärchen*, 1913, 1, 534), outlines the story as follows. Two boys are either marvellously gifted or marvellously conceived. They wander forth accompanied by helpful beasts, and part in search of separate adventure, leaving a life token to warn each of the other's need. One brother frees a maiden from a dragon and after outwitting a feigned rescuer weds the lady. He goes to hunt in a wood and both he and his beasts are bewitched by an old hag and turned into stone. The other brother, made aware of his fate by the life token, follows him, is mistaken for her husband by his brother's wife, visits the hag, outwits her and compels his brother's restoration and that of the others she has bewitched (that is, turned to stone).

2. Gorgon myths are not remote from Punjab story. The Naga woman who weds a hereditary enemy of her people and tries to protect him from the magicians of the Nags who attempt his life, is in fact one of these life-restoring witches. See *Princess Newal Dai*, Temple, 1, 418-528, where, in lines 391-396 we read :

> The winds blew east and west,
> And lifted the veil from her face.
> The flash of her eyes fell on him
> As the lightning's flash from the clouds.
> The moment the Princess's gaze fell on the deer.
> He started back and fell down.

The story goes on to tell how the princess recovers the deer by pouring a little of her own blood into its mouth. She further recovers all the slain. For the dead Raja's recovery she brings « fresh nym leaves ». According to Temple, the story states how afeud arose between the invading Aryans and the

Sir Perceval (which latter tale consists, it will be remembered, of a youth reared in a forest who goes to the rescue of a lady), embody a version of the slaying of the Medusa witch, and the framework tale itself represent the Andromeda episode which classic myth has fixed into the same pattern with the Medusa adventure, just as it occurs in the folk-tale of the « Two Brothers », only in different order of event ? In the folk-tale there are two adventurers (or more); the first rescues the lady, the last rescues the first from the Medusa witch. Perhaps this double adventure is reflected in the two visits to the fountain in the Owain romance and in Peredur's two visits to the Castle of Wonders.

Finally, the Punjab story of the stone giants throws light, not only upon the Red Knight and the Addanc episodes, but also upon the episode of the « nine witches of Gloucester ». The nature of these witches has never been very clearly explained. The contest with them enters in a haphazard way into the romance of *Peredur*, and yet it is expressly employed as the pivotal plot of the story. It is expressly stated at the close of the story that the object of Peredur's adventure is the satisfaction of a blood revenge against the nine witches who have slain his « cousin ». Peredur is predestined to this victory ; there is a prophecy that he will defeat the witches. The witches appear twice in the story and both times in close connection with Peredur's visit to the Castle of Wonders, where the bleeding head and the weeping maidens remind Peredur of his duty as an avenger. In detail the plot runs something like this :

pre-Aryan inhabitants of the Punjab (who are called Snake-people because it was believed that they could turn themselves into snakes), because of the abduction of a Naga princess by an Aryan chief.

The nine witches have slain the « cousin » of Peredur. Peredur is warned by a stately lady against passing the night at the castle, which is harassed each night by the witches, but nevertheless remains. When one of the witches attacks the watch, « he struck her upon the head with his sword, so that he flattened her helmet and her head-piece like a dish upon her head ». She recognizes him as the one from whom it is prophesied that she shall suffer harm, provides him with a horse and armour and carries him with her into the land of the witches in order to learn sorcery of them. Later his horse disappears; he follows it to a castle where he finds not only his own but Gawain's horse as well, and Gawain himself within. Having been informed of the blood-feud with the nine witches, he summons Arthur to do battle with them. Again he smites upon the helmet a witch who has slain one of Arthur's men before his face, and « all her head-armour was split in two parts ». She sets up a cry that this is Peredur, « the man who had learnt Chivalry with them, and by whom they were destined to be slain ». Arthur and his men fall upon the witches and slay them all.

What relation has this plot with the Rasalu story? Who is the cousin slain by the nine witches? What « sorcery » does Peredur learn?

If there is a blood-feud between Rasalu and the « stone giants » it seems to be lost out of the story. The Peredur story is almost equally reticent in regard to Peredur's blood-feud with the nine witches. But that this is the hero prophesied to slay them all, both stories fully agree [1]. Nor can one fail to notice, in the encounter with giants and with sorceresses alike, not only the part which the predestined destroyer plays in the story, but also the John the Bear method of attack [2]. Compare with the account of the alarm and

1. See Woods, George B., *A Reclassification of the Perceval Romances*, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, 20 (1912), 524-567.

2. See Grimm, 91, or Grimm, 166 (Bolte u. Polivka, II, 300).

consternation of the giants at Rasalu's approach, the passage in Peredur that reads : « And with the break of day Peredur heard a dreadful outcry. And he hastily arose, and went forth in his vest and his doublet, with his sword about his neck, and he saw a sorceress overtake one of the watch, who cried out violently. Peredur attacked the sorceress, and struck her upon the head with his sword, so that he flattened her helmet and her headpiece like a dish upon her head. She cried : Thy mercy, goodly Peredur, son of Evrawc, and the mercy of heaven. — How knowest thou, hag, that I am Peredur? — By foreknowledge that I should suffer harm from thee. And thou shalt take a horse and armour of me; and with me shalt thou go to learn chivalry and the use of thy arms » [1]. Later in the story — as it would seem, upon Peredur's final visit to the castle of wonders — the same scene is repeated : — « And they began to fight with them (the sorceresses) ; and one of the sorceresses slew one of Arthur's men before Peredur's face and Peredur bade her forbear. And the sorceress slew a man before Peredur's face a second time, and a second time he forbade her. And the third time she slew a man before the face of Peredur ; and then Peredur drew his

The John the Bear hero is of marvelous birth and strength, son of a mother stolen away by a bear, dwarf, robber, etc., etc., from whom the son rescues himself and his mother. With two comrades he comes to an empty house in the woods where he overcomes a demon who has mishandled his companions, or he successfully guards a treasure and catches the thief whom his companions have failed to capture. He seeks three maidens guarded by dragons underground ; is let down by his companions into a hole, kills the dragons with a magic sword, is betrayed by his companions, who carry off the maidens and leave him in the hole, and escapes thence with some token to return and expose his betrayers and marry one of the maidens.

1. *Mabinogion*, 191.

sword and smote the sorceress on the helmet; and all her head-armour was split in two parts. And she set up a cry and desired the other sorceresses to flee and told them that this was Peredur, the man who had learnt chivalry with them, and by whom they were destined to be slain » [1].

It is to be observed that the troublesome demon in the John the Bear folk-tale generally comes to demand food (or to steal it) and that the demon is disabled rather than actually killed, by striking him upon the head or, as in the Beowulf story, crippling his arm [2]. He then acts as guide to some underground or magic country where the hero gains treasure, gifts of magic or the release of imprisoned maidens. So in Rasalu, the giant water-carrier snatches the bread which the lad is carrying and Rasalu cuts off his hand. In Peredur, the witch attacks or slays the watch and the hero strikes her a damaging blow on the helmet. The water-carrier escapes into a cavern whither in some versions Rasalu pursues him, in others it is the giantess herself who takes refuge there. In Peredur, the subdued witch carries Peredur away to the land of the witches, a land which seems in some way related to the Castle of Wonders. In another instance, a lady besieged by the witches is rescued by Peredur. Finally, Rasalu extorts from the giantess the secret of stone transformation; Peredur wins armour and « training in chivalry ».

One might multiply examples of such resemblances between the stock incidents of the Iwain-Owain or the Perceval-Peredur romance and the story of Rasalu or of some other Punjab hero. Both seem to be following

1. Ibid. 219.

2. Friedrich Panzer, in *Studien zur Germanischen Sagengeschichte,* I, thinks the Beowulf story of the encounter with the hall-haunting demon and its mother to be a literary version of the John the Bear folk-tale already outlined.

a common thread. But I do not think either Anglo-Norman or Welsh romancer writes as if he were relating a native story. The baffling character of these Arthurian romances seems to me to depend upon the fact that the composer is following a tale drawn from a different race and a different religion from his own, threaded also with an Oriental symbolism of which he but half guesses, if at all, the meaning. Just how much of the original story we may be able to reconstruct out of the romances which exist to-day is certainly doubtful, but if my points of comparison have been well taken, these Punjab stories suggest something of the original stuff out of which both Punjab bards and Anglo-Norman romancers have woven their tales. The Rasalu legends sung to-day as folk-tales in the Punjab must have survived out of a period of higher culture when the national bards recited before the grandees possibly at a time of endangered national magnificence. May not these Oriental tales have drifted into Europe and served in the hands of Anglo-Norman poets as a treasure-house from which to enrich and embellish the legends of Britain?

For the Punjab songs contain the magic paraphernalia of Arthurian romance — friendly beasts, Gorgon witches, magicians who chop off and restore heads, stone-transformations, hunting-scenes, animals who entice a hero into the power of a witch (or a pretty woman), together with holy men, chess-matches, magic storms and perilous castles, just as they appear in the phantasmagoria of Welsh romances and only a shade less strangely in Anglo-Norman.

Compare with the English romance of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* the charming *Story of Raja Jagdeo* in Temple's collection [1]. The younger of two

1. Temple, II, 182-203.

Raja's sons having seized the kingdom, the older goes out to seek his fortune. After an adventure with a demon similar to that of Rasalu, he returns to court. The witch-wife of the court bard does him reverence and is reproved for it. She makes the reigning Raja swear to give eleven times what Jagdeo will give and then requires of him his head encrusted with jewels. Jagdeo gives it unhesitatingly. The Raja can find not even one follower who will do the same. Then the witchwife restores Jagdeo to life and taunts the Raja.

The whole Rasalu legend follows more closely than any other hero-cycle known to us, the early plot of the legend of Arthur. Rasalu is fairy born. For twelve years he is brought up by foster parents in secret because his life is exposed to danger. He goes abroad upon adventure and weds a princess from a foreign land who brings about his ruin; she entertains another lover during his absence and Rasalu is killed in battle by those who have gathered to avenge his rival. Some say he did not die, but was taken into the water of the Ganges and will come again As in Arthurian legend, Rasalu brings his doom upon his own head; it is only when he breaks the jogi's command to injure none who is innocent that he becomes unfortunate. Arthurian story exonerates Guinevere, although in early Celtic references, Guinevere is a queen not without reproach [1]. Certain details of the Rasalu story recall the earliest Arthurian legends. For example, in repairing the walls of Sialkot against the Mohammedan invasion, Salwan finds that one tower cannot be made to stand. The astrologers say: «Never will the wall stand until the head of a young Mohammedan, who must also be an only son, has been buried under the foundation ». Both Rasalu and Arthur possess a

1. Rhys, John, *Studies in the Arthurian legend*, chap. III.

magic weapon — the one a sword, the other a steel bow and invincible arrows. The Medusa theme which enters the Rasalu story in the episode of the « stone giants of Gandgarh » appears early in the Arthur legend in the description by Nennius of Arthur's shield. These resemblances, however, belong to the common stock of mediaeval romance and do not in themselves prove a common source.

In conclusion, I should like to cite one instance in which an Oriental tale sung in the Punjab may be shown to contain the material of a well-known Arthurian romance. In that curious Middle-English composition which narrates the adventures of Arthur at the Tarn Wadling [1], the most that can be said for its unity is that some versifying moralist has seen in the two episodes of which it is composed — the punishment meted out to miserliness and the courtly settlement of a dispute over lands — an opportunity to teach righteous conduct to kings. As a story the action has no coherence. There is an elaborate setting and Gawain is represented in both episodes as the model of knighthood. The action runs as follows :

Arthur has come to Carlisle to hunt with his knights. One day when only Gawain is left to serve as her escort, Guinevere is terrified to see an apparition arise from the Tarn Wadling and glide toward her in the shape of a naked and tortured woman. Guinevere shrieks, but Gawain with great presence of mind addresses the wailing ghost and they learn that she is the spirit of the queen's mother, once « red as a

1. *Awntyrs of Arthur at the Terne Wathely*, 1380, (Lubcke) Edited : Robson, *Camden Society*, 18, 1842 (Ireland ms.) Amours, *Scottish Text Society*, 1897 (Douce & Thornton texts); Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*, 1895. vol. I Madden, *Sir Gawayne*, *Publications of the Bannatyne Club*, 1839.

For these data I am indebted to Dr. A. C. L. Brown.

rose » but now tormented in hell because she was pitiless to the poor. She beseeches the queen to have masses said for her soul and, with a prophecy against the too rich and covetous kings of Britain, glides away.

That night as the court sits at supper, there enter a player, a lovely lady, and a noble knight, who claims as his lawful inheritance certain lands which Arthur has given to his favorite Gawain. In the tourney that follows, Gawain is victorious ; but a compromise is arranged and the stranger knight becomes a member of the Round Table.

In spite of the excellent didactic coloring of the story, it is hard to conceive why two such unrelated episodes should make up a single story unless the composer were using some original source in which equivalent incidents occurred but out of which the motivation had been lost. The Punjab story of *Gul Badshah* [1] offers such a parallel. Here the two incidents occur in natural sequence (if we allow for the dropping out of adventures between) and with such motivation as furnishes a reasonable thread upon which to string the adventure. The story is as follows :

The lovely princess Senah demands of all her suitors the achieving of two tasks — to discover and put an end to the cause of the fearful wailings which occur at a certain time outside her palace, and to bring her a message from her sister who has been spirited away to a perilous castle. Prince Ahmed is the youngest of the Raja's sons and the only son of his father's younger wife. His seven brothers all attempt the princess's suit and fail in the quests. Ahmed watches the place of wailings and learns that ten merchants were here murdered by robbers. Nine of them were kind to the poor, their ghosts receive rice from Heaven ; but the tenth was pitiless and he gets nothing but stones which cause him to wail horribly. Ahmed addresses the ghost and learns where

1. Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales*, 71-107. The story is « told at Haji Shah, near Attock, by Gholam, a Mohammedan villager ».

the dead merchant buried his treasure ; by distributing this to the poor he stops the wailings. He next achieves the adventure of the message from the princess's sister. Finally he comes riding home with his bride, and all the brothers see that she is lovelier far than any of their wives. As the only son of his father's second wife he demands half of his father's lands, and wins against his brothers in a battle fought to determine this right.

In this story the episode of a wailing ghost tormented in the next life for lack of charity in this, is followed by the incident of a dispute over a land claim. Details of the two stories are strikingly parallel. Gawain, like Ahmed, shows his courage by addressing the tormented ghost. The relationship of the ghost to the queen, although it may be a mere embellishment of the romance composer, may also have been suggested by the relationship between Senah and the sister from whom Ahmed brings the message and who, to judge by the detail of the perilous passage Ahmed undertakes, would seem to be safely lodged in Hell. And the picture of the stranger knight's arrival in Arthur's court resembles very closely that drawn in *Gul Badshah* of the arrival of Ahmed and his lovely bride.

If this parallel is accepted, it may throw light upon the method of the metrical romancer of the period. The same trick of manipulation in more expert hands may have produced a *Lady of the Fountain* and a *Peredur* or *Sir Perceval* out of that oriental cycle of hero-tales which is reflected today in modern legends of the Punjab, or even a romance of Arthur and his knights of Britain out of the national epic which celebrated the Hindoo stand in the Punjab against the encroaching and alien Mohammedan.

THE LOVE POTION

IN THE

PRIMITIVE TRISTAN ROMANCE

EUGÈNE VINAVER

In his epoch-making introduction to the poem of Thomas, M. Bédier inserted a reconstruction of the original Tristan poem. He gave there the following version of the episode of the love potion :

« Quand le temps du départ fut venu, la reine d'Irlande prépara un breuvage puissant, et le confia secrètement à Brangien qui devait accompagner Iseut en Cornouailles. C'était un philtre d'amour... Telle en était la vertu que ceux qui le boiraient ensemble devaient s'aimer à jamais »[1].

M. Bédier acknowledges that his reconstruction of the last sentence quoted is based on the versions of Thomas, the French Prose Romance and the Oxford

1. *Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas*. S. A. T. F., T. II, p. 133.

Folie all of which describe the influence of the love potion as *unlimited*, and is contradicted by the poems of Eilhart and Béroul, in which the influence of the love draught is limited to a certain period. The poet suggests that if the lovers did not see each other for half a day during the first four years they would fall ill; if they did not see each other for a week they would die [1]. But after four years the influence of the potion would become slightly leess potent and the lovers might part [2]. In the extant fragment of the poem of Béroul the scene of the giving of the potion by the Irish Queen is missing, but in the episode of the lovers' return from the forest Béroul says that after a certain period (three years according to Béroul) the love potion abated [3].

M. Bédier thought that the limitation of the efficacy of the « vin herbé » which occurs in Eilhart and Béroul was due not to the author of the primitive Tristan romance, but to a later imitator whose work was the source of Béroul and Eilhart. In M. Bédier's view the primitive poet to whom we owe the world's greatest love story could not have reduced the *motif* of the love potion to a mere piece of witchcraft devoid of symbolic value. He could not, indeed, have conceived of the Tristan romance as a « story of a triennial intoxication ». In consequence, M. Bédier assumes that Eilhart and Béroul proceed from a common original which is not the primitive romance. « Un poète », he says, « l'auteur de ce roman que devaient imiter Eilhart et Béroul, connaissait la version selon laquelle le philtre garde un pouvoir indéfini... Il a voulu affranchir autant que

1. Cf. Eilhart von Oberge, ed. Lichtenstein, lines 2279-2299.
2. Cf. *ibid.*, 4730-4742.
3. *Le Roman de Tristan par Béroul et un anonyme*, éd. E. Muret, S. A. T. F., pp. 67-68.

possible ses héros de cette sorcellerie. Il a observé que dans l'*estoire* les amants passent plusieurs années ensemble se voyant journellement, avant la grande séparation. Alors, non sans ingéniosité, il a inventé la donnée que reproduit Eilhart d'Oberg : par la force du « boire », Tristan et Iseut s'aimeront de tous leurs sens leur vie durant; pendant les quatre premières années, s'ils sont séparés une seule demi-journée, tous deux tomberont en langueur : si la séparation dure une semaine, tous deux mourront; mais au bout de quatre ans s'ils s'aiment toujours, ils peuvent pourtant supporter d'être séparés » [1].

Writing in 1907, Professor W. Golther suggested that M. Bédier's theory was incorrect and that Eilhart and Béroul derived directly from the first romance of Tristan. « Da nach meiner Ansicht Eilhart und Berol selbständig je für sich, nicht durch eine gemeinsame Zwischenstufe hindurch auf den alten Roman zurückgehen, so muss jeder von ihnen gemeinsam überlieferte Zug fürs Urgedicht angesprochen werden. So gehört nach meiner Auffassung auch die zwar lebenslängliche, in ihrer unwiderstehlichen Kraft jedoch auf drei Jahre beschränkte Wirkung des Trankes schon zum alten Roman » [2].

The problem of the love potion *motif* in the primitive Tristan romance received a new and thorough treatment in the admirable work of the late Miss Gertrude Schoepperle : « Tristan and Isolt. A Study of The Sources of the Romance »[3]. Miss Schoepperle disputed M. Bédier's reconstruction of the episode of the love potion and insisted, as Prof. Golther had done, upon the authenticity of the Béroul-Eilhart version.

1. *Op. cit*, II, 238.

2. W. Golther, *Tristan und Isolde in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters und der Neuen Zeit*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 59.

3. Frankfurt and London, 1913.

« It seems unjustifiable », she suggested, « to suppose that Thomas has preserved the version of the *estoire* in the treatment of the potion when we have evidence that he has altered it in every other important particular in which he differs from the other redactors» [1].

It is Miss Schoepperle's general contention which she has stated with a fair amount of cogency that the poem of Eilhart von Oberge represents more faithfully than any other extant version (except, perhaps, the fragment of Béroul) the original Tristan romance. The problem of the treatment of the potion in that romance is bound up with the question whether it contained the version of the lovers' voluntary return from the forest found in Eilhart and Béroul. If the latter represent the original Tristan romance in the treatment of that episode, the explanation of the lovers' return from the forest by the abatement of the potion is the version of the « archetype », which would thus appear to be responsible for the limitation of the influence of the potion.

Miss Schoepperle further contends that Thomas would not have been in sympathy with a conception which condemned the relation of the lovers as criminal and made their repentance the cause of their return. « It was almost inevitable », says Miss Schoepperle, « that he should alter such a version in accordance with his own attitude toward love, an attitude less naive, less ascetic, more impregnated with the courtly ideals of his time. In his version the return from the forest is not due to the abatement of the influence of the potion and the repentance of the lovers. On the contrary the two lovers give up the life together only when forced by Mark ».

It is to be regretted that Miss Schoepperle confined herself to the statement of facts without attempting to justify her theory on literary grounds and to answer

1. *Op. cit.*, I, 76.

the criticisms of her predecessor, M. Bédier. In the following few pages an attempt will be made both to develop Miss Schoepperle's critical argument and to suggest some account of the literary aspects of the problem.

It cannot be gainsaid that if Thomas's source contained anything like the Eilhart-Béroul version of the love potion *motif* he would certainly alter it. He would do so not only because that version contradicted his attitude toward love in general, but because it did not fit in with his particular presentation of love in the story of Tristan. Indeed, Thomas's touch in remodelling the story shows itself, first and foremost, in the diminishing of the supernatural. The drama has to proceed from a source that is not beyond human knowledge. Consequently, the love potion is merely a means by which a spontaneous, a human bond of love is strengthened. It cannot be resorted to as the ultimate justification of the relationship of the lovers, as is the case in Béroul and Eilhart. This is particularly obvious from the fact that in Thomas the love between Tristan and Iseult is prior to the episode of the love potion. Thomas's faithful translator, the Norwegian friar Robert, tells that when « Isond the maid came to Tristran to talk to him she beheld his beautiful face with enamoured eyes » [1]. The occurrence of similar traits in Gottfried (9994-10037) has led a recent investigator, M. Piquet, to conclude : « Il est certain que la donnée ancienne qui fait naître l'amour dans le cœur des deux jeunes gens seulement après le philtre ne paraît pas respectée par Thomas chez qui l'éclosion de ce sentiment a lieu avant la fameuse méprise »[2]. But

1. Cf. *Tristrams Saga ok Isondar*, ed. Kölbing, ch. XLIII. Cf. also ch. XLVI (...En Tristram huggadi hana med miklu blidlaeti).
2. F. Piquet, *L'originalité de Gottfried de Strassburg*, p. 208.

there is hardly any doubt that having altered his original in this point Thomas was bound to omit the reference to the magic virtues of the potion in the scene of the lovers' return from the forest.

Two other texts call for attention in consideration of the problem : the French Prose Romance of Tristan and the poem of the *Folie Tristan*, both of which represent the « unlimited » version of the *motif* of the love potion.

It is easy enough, however, to show that the version of the *Folie* does not in the least affect our argument. The *Folie* of the Douce MS in the Bodleian Library is a derivative of Thomas and has no direct connection with the primitive Tristan poem [1]. The *Folie* of Bern alone may be regarded as a derivative of that poem. But in the Bern *Folie* there is no evidence whatsoever that the author was using a version different from that of Eilhart and Béroul Here is his description of the love philtre (318-322) :

> Cil boivres fu faiz a envers
> De plusors herbes mout divers,
> Je muir por li, ele nel sant
> N'est pas parti oniemant,
> Car je suis Tristanz qui mar fu.

These lines merely indicate that the influence of the love potion did not terminate, but whether it abated partially, as in Eilhart, or remained unchanged throughout, as in Thomas, the *Folie* does not say.

1. M. Bédier mentions (*Les deux poèmes de la Folie Tristan*, ed. J. Bédier, S. A. T. F., pp. 2-3) that « l'auteur de la *Folie Tristan* d'Oxford résume le roman de Thomas avec une grande fidélité.... Il le rappelle parfois à s'y méprendre ». The arguments recently advanced by E. Hoepffner (*Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XXXIX, 698) do not suffice to make out the case for a direct dependence of the Oxford *Folie* on the « archetype ».

As regards the French Prose Romance which, too, may seem to support the theory of the « unlimited » version, two possibilities are open : first, it may have been influenced by the version of Thomas and, second, « the author may », as Miss Schoepperle thought, « have omitted independently, with his characteristic freedom, the limitation of the influence of the potion, the repentance of the lovers, and the voluntary return from the forest — traits that were no doubt as shocking to him as they were to Thomas » [1]. The second hypothesis may be correct, but in view of its conjectural character we should prefer to choose as a starting point of the argument the first supposition, namely that the Prose Romance is directly dependent on the poem of Thomas. It may, indeed, be gleaned from the works of previous investigators that there are points of isolated agreement between Thomas and the Prose Romance, which cannot be explained by mere coincidence. M. Muret, Professor W. Golther and W. Röttiger have pointed out that the episode of « the harp and the rote » in Thomas (Gottfried, 13101-13453; *Sir Tristrem*, 1809-1925; *Saga*, XLIX-LI) corresponds to a passage in the Prose Romance (MS. Bibl. Nat. fr. 756, f° 65 ff.) relating to the story of Iseult's being carried away by Palomides [2].

1. *Op. cit.*, I, 82. Miss Schoepperle also advanced the hypothesis that « the Prose Romance preserves a version independent of the *estoire* ». In my view, which I am compelled by want of space to indicate but briefly, all the four points in the Prose Romance for which Miss Schoepperle claimed an independent origin (Tristan's childhood, his quest of Iseult, their return from the forest, and their death) derive from a version common to all the other authorities but altered in accordance with the methods of the prose writer.

2. Cf. E. Muret, *Eilhart d'Oberg et sa source française*, Romania, XVI, 310; W. Golther, *Die Sage von Tristan und Isolde*, München, 1887, p. 58; W. Röttiger, *Der heutige Stand der Tristanforschung*, Hamburg, 1897, p. 30.

W. Röttiger and E. Löseth have traced the details about the garden scene in the Prose Romance to Thomas's version of the episode [1]. It is not improbable that the explanation of Tristan's name by the adjective *triste* was borrowed by the prose writer from Thomas [2]. Lastly, it would appear that the description of Tristan's hesitation before his marriage with the second Iseult (« la bataille des deux Yseltes ») which occurs in all the MSS. of the Prose Romance [3] is traceable to Thomas's lengthy discourse on the subject [4].

The French Prose Romance, inasmuch as it represents the old Tristan tradition, would thus appear to be a derivative of both the « archetype » and the poem of Thomas. But if the prose writer had under his eyes two versions of the story, one which confined the strongest efficacy of the love potion to a certain period, and made the potion actually control the whole story, and the other which assigned to the potion the part of a mere symbol, it was only too natural that he should choose the latter. For, just as in Thomas, in the Prose Romance the love potion is entirely relegated to the background. It has pratically no effect upon the events of the story, since Tristan and Iseult love each other *before* drinking the potion. Besides, their love being represented as a model of chivalrous « amour », it was impossible for the author to make it abate, even if one of his sources had done so.

For these reasons, it would not seem to be correct to base a reconstruction of the love potion *motif* either on Thomas, or on the French Prose Romance or indeed

1. Cf. E. Löseth, *Le roman en prose de Tristan, le roman de Palamède et la compilation de Rusticien de Pise*, 1890, §§ 284-286. W. Röttiger, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.
2. Cf. E. Löseth, *op. cit.*, § XX.
3. *Ibid.*, § 58.
4. LI. 447-640.

on the Oxford *Folie*, and it is impossible to escape the conclusion that the Eilhart-Béroul version represents in this point the primitive romance.

Apart from the general problem with which we are concerned here, it might be interesting to remember the manner in which the idea of the limited efficacy of the love potion is introduced in Béroul. In a passage relating to the lovers' return from the forest the poet says (2133-8) :

> Seignors, du vin de qoi il burent
> Avez oi, por qoi il furent
> En si grant paine lonc tens mis;
> *Mais ne savez, ce m'est a vis,*
> *A conbien fu determinez*
> *Li loucuendris, li vin herbez.*

The last three lines suggest that this is the first announcement of the limited efficacy of the love potion in Béroul, and that Béroul did not mention that virtue of the potion in the scene of the lovers' departure from Cornwall. Nor does Eilhart's description of the potion in the scene of the departure go beyond the statement that during the first four years, if the lovers were separated for half a day, they would fall ill; if for a week, they would die :

> vîr jâr sie abir phlegetin
> sô grôzir lîbe beide,
> daz sie sich nicht gescheidin
> mochtin einen halbin tag.
> swedir daz ander nicht en sach
> alle tage, daz wart siech :
> von dem tranke hâten sie sich lîp.
> ab sie wêrin eine wochen
> von ein ander ungesprochen,
> sie musten beide wesin tôt :
> der trang was sô getemperôt,
> von also grôzir sterke.
> daz mogit ir wol gemerkin !
>
> (Eilhart, 2288-2300).

It is not unlikely that (as the concluding line seems to suggest) all this description is anticipated from a later section of the story which corresponds to Eilhart's lines 4730-4739 and forms a direct continuation of the passage just quoted. This is another way of saying that in the primitive Tristan poem there would be no reference to the limited nature of the influence of the love potion until the episode of the return from the forest. It is there that the author must have explained to his readers for the first time « a combien fu determinez » the magic philtre which the lovers drank.

* * *

The theory that the Eilhart-Béroul version of the love potion *motif* represents the original Tristan romance may be substantiated not only on textual but on literary grounds, for it suggests the only adequate interpretation of the general meaning of the story and of the methods of the author.

There is in the romance of Tristan a remarkable simplicity of the tragic conception. It is the tragedy born by the all-powerful love, that is stronger than honour, stronger than blood and stronger than death, and that comes into clash with the immense, vast world of rights and duties, human and divine. But the whole essence and the greatest beauty of the tragedy in Tristan lies in the fact that it is a conflict in which the lovers never refuse to recognize the rightfulness of the law that causes their misfortune.

If an actual struggle had been possible, if Tristan and Iseult could openly have fought the forces against them, how much simpler the story would have been : there would have been no « vie aspre et dure », no hardships such as those through which they lived in the forest

of Morrois. But they cannot flee from the world of suffering, they cannot openly challenge their rivals and they never think of escaping to a happier land. There is in Béroul a passage which for tragic intensity has no parallel in the story. It is when Tristan begins to feel that he must restore Iseult to king Mark and says: « So now I cry to God the Lord who is the King of the world, and beg him to give me strength to yield back Iseult to King Mark »[1].

It is a remarkable feature of the story of Tristan that it is controlled entirely by that fundamental tragic theme, which is so immensurably stronger than the lovers themselves. Like the rudderless boat in which Tristan was set adrift, they never move of their own volition — they obey some supernatural element, which, like the waves, throws them from rock to rock, sends them joys and sorrows and finally releases them from their earthly chains. They are unable not only to control the elemental force which causes their joy and their death, but even to understand it. And it is through the love potion only, through the medium of its magic qualities that the poet could possibly suggest to his heroes a fitting explanation of their story.

In the scene with the hermit Tristan swears: « S'el m'aime, c'est par la poison »[2], and Iseult replies: « Por Deu omnipotent, il ne m'aime pas, ne je lui, fors par un herbé que je bui, et il en but : ce fut pechiez »[3]. The lovers constantly think themselves acting under a spell. And in order to enable them to interpret in that way the whole tragedy, it was essential to make them think that even when they leave the forest of Morrois and submit to the king, they are forced to do so by the

1. Béroul, 2185-8.
2. *Ibid.*, 1384.
3. *Ibid.*, 1412-15,

power of magic. This accounts for the idea of the partial abatement of the love potion, a *motif* which thus appears to be an indispensable element of the tragedy. For where could Tristan find strength to restore Iseult to the king, if he did not believe that the potion which had made him mad released him now from part of its spell? And when the time came to part, and it began to seem to the lovers that they must leave Morrois, they thought it was the love potion that came to abate.

Thus, in the original story the influence of the love potion is not *actually* limited : its limitation is merely an illusion of the lovers, an instance of the author's naïve method of making them unconscious of their tragedy. The « vin herbé » is a poison in the eyes of the lovers, but it never ceases to be a symbol of unchangeable love in those of the poet. Indeed, in the concluding lines of the story he restores to the potion its full symbolic value. After the death of the lovers [1], King Mark brought their bodies back to Cornwall and had their tombs built on the right and left of a chantry. But in one night there sprang from the tomb of Tristan a green and leafy briar, strong in its branches and in the scent of its flowers. It climbed the chantry and took root again by Iseult's tomb. Thrice did king Mark command to cut it down, but thrice it grew again as blooming and as strong. The people told the marvel to the king and he forbade to cut the briar any more. It was the potion, says Eilhart, that did this thing.

1. MS. Bibl. Nat. fr. 103, f° 383a.

ISOLDES GOTTESURTEIL

FRIEDRICH RANKE

Die Episode vom gefälschten Gottesurteil findet sich innerhalb der Tristanüberlieferung bekanntlich nur im Thomaskreis (T) und beim Béroulfortsetzer (B II); sie fehlt Eilhard, der französischen Prosa und der Berner Folie. Gehörte sie zum Szenenbestand der gemeinsamen Quelle von B E F T, der *estoire*? — *Golther* bejaht die Frage, *Bédier* und *Schoepperle* lassen sie offen [1]. Mir scheint die Ueberlieferung von vorn herein eher dagegen zu sprechen als dafür: wusste Golther schon keinen Grund anzugeben, warum Eilhard die eindrucksvolle Szene übergangen haben sollte, so würde es noch mehr befremden, wenn die Folie, in

1. W. Golther, *Tristan und Isolde* in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters und der neuen Zeit, Leipzig 1907 S. 59 ff. 77. — J. Bédier, *Le Roman de Tristan* par Thomas II, p. 265. — G. Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt* p. 106.

der Tristan sich der Geliebten durch Ausplauderung der nur ihr und ihm bekannten Einzelheiten ihres Liebeslebens immer aufs Neue zu erkennen zu geben bemüht ist, sich dies ganz besonders tief verborgene Geheimnis der beiden hätte entgehen lassen [1]. Gehörte die Episode aber nicht der *estoire* an, wie erklärt sich dann ihr Erscheinen bei T und B II ?

I

Betrachten wir den Schwank vom gefälschten Gottesurteil in der Weltliteratur [2], so finden wir ihn immer wieder eingeleitet durch eine Ueberraschung des liebenden Paares im Garten. Entweder wird die junge Frau mit dem Liebhaber zusammen vom Vater des Gatten nachts im Garten angetroffen ; der Alte nimmt der schlafenden Schwiegertochter ein Schmuckstück vom Arm oder Fuss, um es dem Sohn gegenüber zum Beweis ihres Ehebruchs zu verwenden ; die Frau aber wacht auf, schickt den Liebhaber fort, holt sich den Gatten in den Garten und beklagt sich nachher bei ihm über die Unzartheit seines Vaters ; der junge Gatte antwortet am andern Tag dem Vater auf dessen Anklage gegen die Frau : aber das war ich ja selber ! (indisch, türkisch, persisch). Oder das Paar wird am frühen Morgen noch schlafend ertappt, gefangen gesetzt und durch eine Verkleidungslist gerettet (mongolisch, kaschmirisch, ähnlich auch belutschistanisch) ; oder endlich sie werden von einer Dienerin am Morgen gesehen ;

1. Die T folgende Oxforder Folie spielt, wie zu erwarten war, auf die Episode an : v. 817 ff.

2. I. Meyer, Isoldes Gottesurteil in seiner erotischen Bedeutung (*Neue Studien zur Geschichte des menschlichen Geschlechtslebens* II) Berl. 1914 s., 111 ff.

während aber diese ihre Entdeckung dem König-Vater meldet, macht sich der Liebhaber, der seinerseits die Verräterin erblickt hat, rechtzeitig aus dem Staube, sodass der erzürnt herbeieilende Vater das Mädchen allein im Garten antrifft (rumänisch, zigeunerisch) [1].

Eine Szene von einer « Entdeckung im Baumgarten » und zwar mit einem der zuletzt beschriebenen westlichen Fassung sehr nahe stehenden Verlauf kennen wir auch aus dem Gedicht des Thomas, nur dass sie hier nicht die Szene vom gefälschten Gottesurteil einleitet, sondern die endgültige Trennung der Liebenden der *estoire* gegenüber neu begründet [2]. Dass diese Szene des T nicht eine selbständige neue Erfindung des französischen Dichters sein kann, ergibt sich leicht aus einer genaueren Betrachtung ihrer inneren Struktur : schon das im Garten aufgeschlagene Bett und die Verlegung der Zusammenkunft auf den hellen Mittag (die entweder diese Szene nur gegen andere Zusammenkünfte abheben oder die Entdeckung erleichtern soll) ist entschieden auffallend und wird bekanntlich erst durch Gottfried psychologisch motiviert ; ferner lässt T zwar seinen König Marke erstaunlicher Weise gleich bei der ersten Ueberraschung zugegen sein und muss ihn dann notwendig wieder verschwinden lassen (« um Zeugen zu holen »), damit Tristan zum Fliehen Zeit gewinnt, er hat aber auch die Rolle der verräterischen Magd nicht ganz getilgt, sondern sie auf den Zwerg übertragen (*sorvient ... li rois que li nains i ameine*) [3]

1. Zeitschr. für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte I (1887) S. 457 f. (fehlt bei Meyer).

2. ed. Bédier, v. 1 ff.

3. vgl. *auch Sir Tristrem* 2579 ff. *the duerwe hem hath sene, to Mark gan he say : sir king, with outen wene, thi wiif is now oway and thi knigt : wende fast as thou may, oftake hem, gif thou might !*

und sich dadurch bekanntlich in die neue Unwahrscheinlichkeit verwickelt, dass der zärtliche Abschied der Liebenden unter den Augen des zurückbleibenden (aber nicht mehr erwähnten) Zwerges vor sich geht. Diese Unwahrscheinlichkeiten und inneren Widersprüche verraten uns, dass die Szene von T nicht neu erfunden sondern mit wenig Sorgfalt irgend einer « Quelle » nachgestaltet worden ist. Da wir nun die gleiche Szene in der volkstümlichen Ueberlieferung fest mit der vom gefälschten Gottesurteil zusammengebunden finden, und diese gleichfalls grade bei T erscheint, so werden wir mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit vermuten dürfen, dass beide Szenen, Gottesurteil und Entdeckung im Baumgarten, wie sie aus der gleichen Quelle stammen, so auch gleichzeitig und von dem gleichen Dichter zum ersten Mal in den Tristanstoff hineingearbeitet worden sind.

Wir könnten zunächst versucht sein, so zu argumentieren : « Entdeckung » und « Gottesurteil » gehören nach Ausweis der volkstümlichen Fassungen ursprünglich zusammen ; die Entdeckung fehlt BII, findet sich allein bei T ; also ist T selber der gesuchte Dichter, der mit der Entdeckungsszene auch das Gottesurteil aus der mündlichen Novellentradition in die Tristandichtung neu einflocht ; BII hätte dann das Gottesurteil von T bezogen und es an der einzigen Stelle seines Romans eingefügt, an der er es nach der bereits eingetretenen Trennung der Liebenden noch bringen konnte : an Stelle der alten Artusszene der *estoire* [1]. Die Chronologie der Gedichte würde einer solchen Argumentation nicht widersprechen. Doch stehen ihr zwei andere

1. Vergleichen liesse sich etwa, wie Heinrich von Freiberg als Fortsetzer Gottfrieds die von diesem mit T übergangenen Szenen aus E : Wolfseisen, Scheiterhaufen und Tristans Sprung, an der ihm geeignet scheinenden Stelle nachholt : v. 1573-3380.

schwere Bedenken entgegen : einmal verrät die künstlerische Art des BII nichts, aber auch garnichts von einer Kenntnis der so viel höher stehenden höfischen Kunst des T — könnte bei einer Motivübernahme die feinere Form so spurlos verloren gegangen sein ? Ferner ist die Erzählung bei BII auch inhaltlich in manchen Zügen altertümlicher als bei T.

Da aber der umgekehrte Ansatz BII > T schon aus chronologischen Gründen ausgeschlossen ist, so bleibt nur die Annahme einer gemeinsamen Quelle, einer Tristandichtung, aus der Entdeckung und Gottesurteil von T, das Gottesurteil allein von BII übernommen wurde. War diese gemeinsame Quelle ein Episodengedicht, das sich auf die beiden (oder 3) Scenen Entdekkung (Tristan als Pilger) und Gottesurteil beschränkte ? — oder war sie ein vollständiger Tristanroman, der unter den andern auch diese Scenen enthielt ?[1] Auch diese Frage glaube ich noch mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit beantworten zu können.

II

Im 8. Jahrgang der Romanic Review (p. 196 ff.) hat Mr. *Loomis* ein jetzt im Eremitage-Museum in St. Petersburg aufbewahrtes Elfenbeinkästchen mit Tristandarstellungen besprochen und abgebildet, auf dem folgende Szenen dargestellt sind : Auf der 1. Langseite Liebestrank, erste Umarmung (?) und Uebergabe Isoldes an Marke; auf der 1. Querseite untergeschobene Braut; auf dem Deckel belauschtes Stelldichein

1. Dass die gemeinsame Quelle nicht die *estoire* gewesen sein kann, ist jetzt noch weniger zweifelhaft geworden als vorher : wir hätten jetzt noch eine weitere Szene, die Entdeckung im Garten, als sowohl von E als von F übergangen anzunehmen.

und Entdeckung im Walde (mit dem trennenden Schwert): auf der 2. Langseite das Liebespaar im Bett, der verkleidete Tristan trägt Isolt, Gottesurteil; auf der 2. Querseite Tristan und Kaherdin als Pilger verkleidet von der zur Jagd reitenden Isolt beschenkt. — Allerdings unterliegen die Seiten des Kästchens (nicht der Deckel) dem Verdacht, moderne (vor 1835 entstandene) Nachbildungen zu sein [1], doch machen die darauf befindlichen Darstellungen nach Inhalt und Linienführung einen so überzeugend echten Eindruck, dass sie zum mindesten als recht treue Kopien eines mittelalterlichen Originals anzusprechen sind. Dr. L. hat das Kästchen denn auch trotz dieses Verdachtes als glaubwürdigen Zeugen eines mittelalterlichen Tristanromans bewertet und mit vollem Recht den Schluss gezogen, dass der mittelalterliche Künstler, der diese Bilderfolge schuf, nicht, wie noch *Golther* auf Grund der schlechten Abbildungen und ungenauen Beschreibung bei Michel annahm, der Fassung des Thomas gefolgt ist; wenn er aber statt dessen « eher die Béroulversion » als Quelle der Darstellungen vermutet, so möchte ich dahinter doch ein Fragezeichen setzen.

Die fragmentarische Ueberlieferung von Bérouls Gedicht lässt bekanntlich der Rekonstruktion seines Szenenbestandes bedauerlich viel Freiheit; dass aber die Bilderfolge des Kästchens nicht diesem Gedicht entnommen ist, scheint mir eine genaue Betrachtung der Darstellungen auf der zweiten Langseite zu erweisen. Bild 2 und 3 sind klar : sie geben in engem sachlichem Zusammenhang die Episode vom gefälschten Gottesurteil wieder und folgen deutlich einer Darstellung wie der Bérouls, nicht der des T (vgl. *Loomis* a. a. O.). Was aber stellt das erste Bildchen dar? Wir sehen da das Liebespaar im Bett unter einer Decke;

1. vgl. *Loomis* a. a. O.

Isolt, durch die Krone als Königin gekennzeichnet, scheint zu schlafen, Tristan ist wach und zu ihr gewandt; die Köpfe ruhen je auf einem zierlich mit Eckquasten geschmückten kleinen Kopfkissen; durch einen in Falten zusammengerafften Himmel ist das Bett (ähnlich dem der Scene von der untergeschobenen Braut auf der ersten Querseite, dem nur die zwei Kopfkissen fehlen) als Prunkbett charakterisiert. Sind das wirklich nur « Tristan and Yseut lÿing in the bed of love » ohne jede Beziehung auf eine bestimmte Szene des Romans? [1] Gewiss enthält jede Tristandichtung implicite immer wieder die Liebesvereinigung des Paares; aber entspricht die Zeichnung einer solchen « Idealsituation » ohne genau benennbares szenisches Equivalent den Stilgewohnheiten mittelalterlicher Bildschnitzer? und wäre für eine solche Idealsituation nicht zum allermindesten eine kompositorisch bedeutungsvollere Stelle zu erwarten als die, an der wir das Bild auf unserem Kästchen finden, wo es ohne jede Auszeichnung in die Folge der Romanscenen auf der hinteren (!) Langseite eingefügt ist? — Ich meine, auch das Bild der beiden im Bett soll, wie alle andern des Kästchens eine bestimmte (dem Gottesurteil voraufgehende) Szene des Romans darstellen, und es gilt eine solche zu suchen. Die Szene vom Wolfseisen kommt gewiss nicht in Betracht, da ihr Kennzeichen, die Sensenfalle, fehlt und sie ausserdem nirgends das Gottesurteil einleitet; auch die Szene von Tristans Bettsprung (the footprint at the floor) kann nicht gemeint sein, denn ihr ist nicht das Zusammensein sondern eben der Sprung wesentlich [2]. So bleibt

1. *Loomis* a. a. O. p. 201 mit dem Zusatz : « There is no hint as to the particular occasion ».

2. vgl. z. B. die Darstellung der Szene durch den Maler der Runkelsteiner Fresken.

nur die Entdeckungsszene, von der wir nach dem Vorangegangenen annehmen, dass sie in einer gemeinsamen Quelle von T und BII die Erzählung vom gefälschten Gottesurteil einleitete, d. h. genau die Stelle einnahm, an der wir das Bild auf dem Kästchen finden. Wollte der Bildschnitzer diese Scene wiedergeben, so musste er vor allem die Liebenden im Bette zeigen ; er tat das, und wählte dabei anscheinend den Augenblick, wo der erwachte Tristan die schlafende Isolt weckt. Freilich hätte er die Situation durch Andeutung des Gartens oder durch den sich entfernenden Beobachter deutlicher kennzeichnen können ; das hat er unterlassen [1]. Trotzdem scheint mir kein Zweifel : wir haben auf dem Kästchen die Szenenfolge von Entdeckung und Gottesurteil vor uns, und zwar nicht als Episodendichtung, sondern als Gliedstück in der Szenenkette des Gesammtromans.

1. Die Annahme, dass hier einmal der moderne Nachbildner eine Figur seiner Vorlage (vielleicht nur einen Kopf im Bildhintergrund) übersehen oder aus Unverständnis fortgelassen habe, möchte ich doch nicht wagen.

THE IRISH ELEMENT IN KING ARTHUR AND THE GRAIL

ARTHUR C.-L. BROWN

It is no more a paradox to speak of the Irish element in King Arthur and the Grail than it would be to speak of the English element in Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln was not born until the United States had been for more than a quarter of a century independent of England. He never set foot on English soil, and yet it is obvious that nobody can understand the main traits of his character except by considering the traditions and the history of the English people. King Arthur was a Welshman. The story of King Arthur and the Grail came to the French and English from the Welsh, and, it is thought, from the Bretons of the northwest corner of France. The scene of Arthur's exploits was never in Ireland; and yet it is true that the spirit of the Arthurian romances is either of Irish origin, or is at least best preserved in Ireland, and that the original idea of

the Grail can only be grasped by a knowledge of Irish romantic fiction.

Just how Irish story made its way to Wales is not very clear, but scholarly opinion now favors the idea that a great portion of Irish fable did reach the Welsh. The Welsh and the Bretons spoke a different language from the Irish, but the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*, which are among the oldest Welsh prose tales, although, to be sure, they do not mention Arthur, have been proved to be full of Irish material. Probably Welsh bards were in the habit of serving apprenticeship under Irish teachers, and made it their business to imitate their Irish brethren; probably they adopted Irish romantic tales inserting Welsh characters and Welsh place-names. Certain it is, to mention but an example or two, that Arthur's famous sword, Excalibur, derives both name and character from an Irish fairy sword, Caladbolg, and that the central incident of the English romance, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, comes, even to the details of the dialogue, from a similar adventure of Cuchulinn which is known to us in the Irish saga called *Fled Bricrend*.

Welsh fairy-lore, of course, closely resembled Irish, so that it is usually difficult in the case of a particular story to tell whether we are dealing with parallel developments in Irish and Welsh, or whether the latter folk actually borrowed from the former. Since, however, we have very few Welsh and very many Irish mediaeval documents, we are forced in practice to study the origin of mediaeval romance in Irish story. Some of the elements of the fairy background in the Arthurian romances may prove to be genuine Welsh and not Irish, but at least this mythological framework cannot be understood except by a study of the Irish material. Without pressing the point of ultimate origin we may, perhaps, speak of the source

of mediaeval fairy machinery as to be found in Irish literature.

Fairy incidents and fairy personages, which form the chief Celtic contribution to Arthurian mediaeval romance, were able to engage the attention of men of the twelfth century because of a conception of the fairies which was peculiar to the Celts. The Irish fairies are of human shape and appearance, and except for being subject to the mysterious rules of fairyland, very much of human passion and behavior. When Connla, as a ninth century document tells us, was encountered by one of the everliving ones, he knew that she was a fairy solely by her « wonderful garments ». When John Connors today meets a fairy king near Killarney, he spends several hours in his company before he finds out that he is anything other than « a very well dressed gentleman ».

In their human size and behavior the fairies of the Celts are unlike the humpbacked gnomes, the tiny elves, and gigantic trolls, that people the fancy of the rest of Europe. Because of their quite normal appearance Irish fairies easily entered Arthurian romances, the men becoming enchanters or magicians, and the women, ladies of all-compelling beauty who exacted from proud knights abject submission and service. This kind of lady caught the fancy of the French *trouvères* of the twelfth century. It supplied them with the capricious, independent, and marvelously beautiful heroines whom they sought for their romances of chivalry. Small change was necessary to make these otherworld ladies seem human ; they were almost humanized from the beginning, and, already in ancient Irish story, were confused with the daughters of men. In the sagas, and still more in the chronicles of Ireland, the fairies were tied up with historic people and events, and thus a step was taken toward transforming

them into men and women. Probably this rationalizing went still further in Wales and suggested the almost complete rationalization of the French Arthurian romances.

It is not known whether the Welsh attached to the heroic figure of Arthur many fantastic tales which came from Ireland. They needed only to substitute for the names of unfamiliar Irish heroes those of Arthur and his warriors to give us actual Arthurian fiction such as appears in *Kulhwch and Olwen*. But *Kulhwch and Olwen* stands by itself, and, in the absence of any other genuine Welsh mediaeval Arthurian tales, it is possible to hold that the Welsh went but a little way towards building up a heroic legend about Arthur. Some scholars maintain a sceptical position, and believe that in Wales stories were told about various heroes, and that the authors of the French romances were the first to connect all these tales with Arthur, and thus to create the fabric of Arthurian romance. In any case, the plots, the patterns, so to speak, of Arthurian story were of Celtic origin.

Upon these Celtic patterns, French artists embroidered the rich texture of Arthurian romance. They changed warriors into knights, and fairy women into elegant ladies, and wove round them the fascination of courtly love; they bespangled the narratives with castles, tournaments, and brilliant armor; they introduced something of a deeper spirit of Christianity by picturing a new courtesy on the part of the great toward the oppressed and the poor. After the twelfth century ecclesiastical influences more and more altered many of the romances.

Thus the Arthurian legend consists of Irish and Welsh fairy and heroic tales transformed by French artists. Its most characteristic and striking feature is the fairy element, which has become dimmed or ration-

alized, and forms what I have called the background. This fairy background was not the invention of the logical and realistic French genius, but was an heritage that came to them from the fancy of the Celts, Mediaeval romance is nothing else than a combination of this fairy background with twelfth-century chivalry. The most characteristic element in French Arthurian romance is not of French origin at all. The glimpse that French romance gives us of an unearthly land; the hints that it affords of men and women of marvelous power and beauty (and without these, romance would not be what it is) had their home not in France but in Ireland.

The Irish conception of the Other World, the Plain of Delight, is easy to grasp. If we undertake to picture an imaginary world, an obvious thing to do is to suppose that we have got beneath a lake or sea, and there met with a people who are more delightful and splendid than we. These happy folk will of course have golden hair, and marvelous beauty. Their houses will be of snow-white marble, and their furniture of gold and silver. They will drink out of crystal cups, and spend their time in feasting, playing chess, and listening to music.

From this imaginary world, all unpleasant things will be excluded. Because the acquisition and preparation of daily food is tiresome, these imaginary people will have dishes that supply food of themselves, and never-failing goblets of wine. Their chess-boards will be of glittering bronze, and their chessmen of pure gold. Their music will be of such sweetness as to throw a man into a sleep, or a swoon. Because ordinary warfare is perilous, and dreadful, these imaginary folk will have magic armor that protects them from wounds, talismanic spears, and swords that never fail to bring victory. When people are very happy, they

do not note the passage of time; consequently in this imaginary world many years pass as one day. All of these characteristics are actually found in a number of Irish fairy stories which were written down at least a thousand years ago. For example, the details given above are in the *Adventures of Loegaire*, which is in a manuscript almost eight hundred years old.

The oldest Irish fairy stories consist essentially of a description of a land like this. In the *Adventures of Connla*, a supernatural damsel comes in a wonderful ship of glass, and carries the hero away forever to a superbly beautiful land where there is no death or decay. In the *Voyage of Bran*, the hero visits an island paradise where the inhabitants are beautiful damsels, and where everything in the way of food, music, and other delight is present. Everyone knows that the Arthurian romances likewise contain pictures of such a fairy land where all is happiness and joy. In the part of the *Perceval* attributed to Wauchier is an account of the Castle of the Maidens which under the guise of a mediaeval castle with towers and halls, tapestry and furniture, reproduces with but superficial transformation such a dream paradise.

Furthermore, in the so-called « Elucidation » attached to the *Perceval*, we read of a time when beautiful damsels dwelt by springs, or in hills, along the highroads, each with a golden goblet, and inexhaustible food, and drink, with which to regale the wayfarer. Britain, or Logres as it is called, was then indeed a land of fairy. The golden cup, which each fairy damsel possessed, was of course a cup of plenty, and as such a kind of prototype of the grail. In origin, perhaps, every fairy palace had its « grail », that is its vessel of abundance. That fairies possess never failing cups is a commonplace of folk-lore. Many stories, not all of which are of Celtic origin, illustrating this folk-belief

have been assembled by Hartland in his *Science of Fairy-Tales*. A good example is the story called « The Luck of Eden Hall », which relates how a butler once stole from a band of dancing fairies a magic cup that is still kept at Eden Hall in Northumberland. In calling these fairy cups « grails », I am well aware that the grail became more than a vessel of abundance. My point is simply that in the fairy cup-of-plenty lies the germ idea of the grail, and that, therefore, in a sense, every fairy castle had a grail.

Now the trouble with the kind of story we have been describing is obviously that in it nothing thrilling happens. A mortal man penetrates to fairyland, and tells us of its delight, but that is all. To make an interesting story, fairyland must be in trouble, and need to be delivered. It must be enchanted by wicked giants, and need to be freed from an evil spell.

Very early we find Irish stories in which fighting is necessary in the other world. In the *Serglige Conculaind* Cuchulinn is summoned to the other world in order to free it from three hostile giants who are troubling the land. As a reward for slaying the giants, Cuchulinn receives the hand of a fairy queen. A famous example of this type of story in French romance is *Ivain*, by Chrétien de Troyes. Ivain, who was one of Arthur's knights, visits a marvelous land where, after slaying a huge antagonist called Esclados the Red, he marries a queen of supernatural beauty. In this type of story the hero is a well known warrior, and so cannot be left perpetually in fairy-land, like Connla and Bran. Therefore, both Cuchulinn in the Irish *Serglige Conculaind,* and Ivain in the French romance, after a time, make their way back to earth. In this kind of story, the lady was at first a fairy who controlled the whole plot, and the warrior or warriors whom the mortal hero had to fight, were her creatures

who fought only to test the hero's valor and strength. But already in both these stories, certainly in the French, the combat has become a real one, and the original fairy is regarded rather as a princess in the power of a giant, and needing to be delivered.

Out of this conception of a princess in the power of a giant, arises by a natural development the notion of a fairyland as enchanted, or in the power of one or more giants. A struggle is going on between two supernatural races. The kindly race of fairies needs the aid of a particular hero to effect its disenchantment and to gain a victory over its giant foes.

This situation is clearly depicted in *The Adventures of Loegaire*, a story which has already been referred to. Here a fairy king named Fiachna is in danger from a foe named Goll. Loegaire goes to fairyland, kills Goll, and as a reward receives Fiachna's daughter. In this story, however, the quest for a fairy bride has dropped into second place. The primary object of Loegaire's visit is to free fairyland from oppression or enchantment.

This type of plot, namely the delivery of a fairyland from enchantment by giants, manifestly affords plenty of dramatic action, and provokes more interest than the simple visit to fairyland with which we began. Fairy stories of this kind are well known in later Middle Irish, and modern Irish, literature. A good example is a story called « The Lad of the Ferule », which has been edited by Dr. Douglas Hyde in the first volume of the *Irish Texts Society*. The hero, Murough, son of Brian Boru, was enticed down into fairyland in order to slay a giant who was oppressing the country. He slew the giant and returned, bringing with him a caldron of plenty as a gift from fairyland.

This formula which is found in modern Irish story telling, is very old. A story plot of this kind evidently

lies at the basis of a mythological tale in Irish which is called the *Battle of Moytura*. Although the account of the battle as we have it probably belongs to the twelfth century, numerous references to it in Irish historical books and other document prove that it must be one of the oldest Irish stories. In fact the character of the story plainly takes it back to pagan times. The plot, to put it in a few words, is that the land of the Tuatha Dé Danaan (who are the same as the fairies) has been ruined by giants called Fomorians, and is saved by the coming of a supernatural hero, Lug. He is the destined deliverer and brings talismans which give him victory over the Fomorians, and enable him to deliver the fairies. In a story of this kind, the marvelous belongings of the fairies come into especial prominence. The notion is that a race of giants has brought enchantment upon the fairies by stealing their marvelous gear. These giants have carried off the fairy cup-of-plenty, the original object from which the « grail » developed, and have stolen or broken the resistless sword and spear. The destined hero recovers these talismans, one by one, and thus is able to slay the giants, and dispel the enchantment. The plot which has been just outlined is, I believe, a very old form of the grail plot.

It is noteworthy that a plot like this conjectural reconstruction of an older form of the grail story is preserved in the English *Sir Perceval*, which in the extant version is nearly two hundred years later than the oldest French grail romances. Unexpected chance has preserved with little alteration a primitive story in English, whereas in France the older stories, in consequence of having been displaced by the more elaborate narratives of Chrétien and his followers, were neglected and forgotten.

In the English *Sir Perceval* King Arthur has a cup

of gold which when stolen leaves him powerless and in a kind of enchantment. The gold cup is not called a talisman, nor is it said that Arthur and his knights owe their courage and prosperity to it. Whoever wrote *Sir Perceval* did not grasp the thread of his plot and did not realize that the gold cup was a talisman. From the progress of the story, it may be inferred that the gold cup originally had talismanic powers. When it is gone, King Arthur says that he is « sick and sore », and that in all his land « there is no man worthy to be a knight ». The sweeping statement proves that the cup was originally a talisman-of-prosperity, and as such a prototype of the grail. The cup is, however, a much simpler thing than the grail, and those scholars are not wrong who have called this English romance a Perceval story with no grail in it.

Nor is it surprising to find, as in *Sir Perceval*, that before the cup-of-plenty developed into a grail, Arthur was the lord of the cup. From *Kulhwch and Olwen* we know that the Welsh thought of Arthur as a fairy king, and gave him many talismanic weapons including the elfin sword Caletvwlch (Excalibur). From Layamon, we know that he had a wonderful round table. It was inevitable that stories would arise ascribing to such a monarch the possession of a fairy cup-of-plenty, and some such story, I conjecture, lies at the basis of the English *Sir Perceval*.

When the cup-of-plenty developed into the more mysterious thing called the grail, and became in French romances the central object in the story, Arthur could not remain the ruler of the cup, for that person must be depicted as enchanted and in need of rescue. In no grail romance is Arthur the grail king, although he is always related to him or interested in him. In the English *Sir Perceval*, it was possible for Arthur to be lord of the cup because his enchantment

and consequent helplessness are so slurred over as to be almost unintelligible, and consequently do not clash with the current conception of him as a feudal king.

In the English *Sir Perceval* then, we conclude that Arthur was in fact enchanted by a number of giant foes. The enchantment was the result of a battle in which Perceval's father had been slain. Victory depended upon the possession of three or four talismans; Perceval's spear, the Red Knight's armor, and King Arthur's golden cup. This cup is not specifically described, but after it has been stolen by the Red Knight we learn that Arthur and his land are left incapable of defence. The loss of the cup plunged him and his land into an enchantment. Like other enchanted people, like Dornröschen, like Tennyson's Sleeping Beauty, Arthur cannot help himself, but must wait until the destined hero with the talismanic spear comes and kills the giants. After Perceval has killed the Red Knight (who is no doubt the king of the giants) he puts on the red armor (which is evidently one of the talismans), and clad in this, fights and kills two more giants, Gollerotherame, and his brother. When the golden cup is carried back to Arthur by Gawain, Arthur recovers his courage and ability. He sets out at once to find Perceval, and since the giants are all dead, the exploits of Perceval have restored the land (no doubt originally fairyland) to a state of happiness.

The English *Sir Perceval* is a story which has been confused by a series of narrators who did not understand the plot. An earlier form of the tale must have described a world of imaginary happiness and plenty which has been enchanted and oppressed by a race of hostile giants, and which was finally freed by a destined hero. This is a plot full of action and interest, Paradise must be lost in order that there may be a struggle to regain it. Perceval's battles to overthrow the giants give vigorous action to the story.

If King Arthur were represented as living in a palace of unimaginable splendor, fed with every food that he could desire from an unfailing grail, and able to repel all his foes by the aid of unconquerable talismans, there would be no real story. The dream would be purely descriptive. If, however, Arthur is pictured as in trouble; as having fallen into the power of hostile giants until such a time as a destined hero may free him; we get a struggle, a drama, something that can hold our interest. It is not said in the English *Sir Perceval* that King Arthur is enchanted, but it is said that Sir Perceval's mother was driven insane by one of the giants, and that she was cured only by a magic remedy which Perceval found in the giant's castle. This seems a hint that originally enchantment by the giants hung over the fairy people in the story, and was dispelled by Perceval. In the motive of enchantment, can be found an explanation for the wounded king, the weeping women, the waste land, and the general unhappy condition of the grail kingdom; features some or all of which occur in all the grail romances. The land is waste because it is enchanted, and the women are bewailing an evil spell that rests upon them and their country. Fairyland is in the power of giants, and only a destined hero can kill the giants, and recover the talismans upon which prosperity depends.

It is now possible to understand the importance which, in most of the stories, is attached to Perceval's failure to inquire about the grail. The people of the grail castle are enchanted. It is the essence of enchantment that those under it cannot help themselves. They must remain passive, like the sleeping beauty behind her thorny hedge, until after a hundred years, the destined prince arrives. The people in the grail castle, however eagerly they may desire to be freed from enchantment, must not suggest their wants to Perceval.

This is why the grail people watch so eagerly to see whether Perceval will ask the question, and why they blame him so bitterly when he departs the first time, leaving the question unasked. If Perceval had asked why the lance bled, and whom the grail served, it would have broken the spell. They would have known that he intended to slay the giants and break the enchantment. Other ideas have no doubt entered the various forms of the grail story, but it seems to me that this is the original idea out of which the legend has grown up, and that it is best preserved in the English *Sir Perceval* [1].

In the « Elucidation », wich has been already referred to, the idea of enchantment is also present. The happy time when fairy damsels served wandering knights out of golden cups came to an end. An evil folk wronged the fairies, and they and their cups-of-plenty were no longer found. The court of the Fisher King, that filled all the land with abundance, also vanished. This passage is of the utmost interest because here we find a French writer connecting the Fisher King (and the grail) with fairy cups-of-plenty. It is what we should expect if the grail has developed from a fairy cup-of-plenty. The « Elucidation » goes on to declare that by and by King Arthur's knights will come, to find once more the palace of the fisher king, and drive out the evil folk, so that all the maidens may dispense hospitality out of golden cups as before. The « Elucidation » agrees, therefore, with the English *Sir Perceval*, in referring to an enchantment, and in treating the grail as only one of a number of marvelous golden cups.

Wauchier's account is thought by many scholars to represent the oldest form of the grail story which

1. See A. C.-L. Brown « The Grail and the English Sir Perceval », *Mod. Phil.* 16, 113; 17, 311; 18, 201; 22, 79.

exists in French. As we have it, however, it has been worked over after the time of Chrétien, and has been modified to suit Christian ideas. It tells, for example, that the bleeding lance is the lance of Longinus, with which Christ as he hung on the cross was smitten through the side. In this story, as in several other of the French grail stories, the hero, before arriving at the grail castle proper, meets with the « adventure of the demon-hand ». He arrives at midnight at an empty chapel in the forest, where he takes refuge from a great storm. Suddenly a black and hideous hand comes through the window and extinguishes the light in the chapel. The hero flees from the chapel into the storm, and soon after comes to the grail castle.

The English *Sir Perceval* suggests an explanation for the demon-hand. It will be remembered that in this romance, King Arthur's golden cup was carried off by the Red Knight. A comparison of older stories shows that the Red Knight was a kind of snatching demon who haunts your palace and carries off your feast or a portion of your feast. In folk-tales it is not uncommon to have this snatching demon remain outside the house, so that those within see only his ugly hand coming through a window or the roof to seize and carry off the food. In the English *Sir Perceval*, as we have seen, this snatching demon was originally a hostile giant and his stealing a part of the king's feast was a symbol of the enchantment which he cast upon the king and his land.

The explanation which I offer for the story of the demon-hand (which in the French romance comes just before the visit to the grail castle) is that it is a snatching-demon-episode which has got separated from the description of the grail castle, and is told as an introduction. It is easy to see why the episode was separated. After the cup-of-plenty had developed into

the more mysterious grail, it could not be represented as snatched away by a profane hand. Originally it was the grail itself that the demon-hand carried off, just as an uncanny foe snatched the golden cup in the English *Sir Perceval*. The description of the chapel of the demon-hand in Wauchier's version is very like that of the grail castle : « A great and fair chapel stood in the midst of the forest. The door was open, and within [the chapel] the altar stood, all bare with neither cloth nor covering thereon, but a great candle-stick wrought of gold that stood alone, and therein a tall taper that burned clearly and shed a great light around » — « Even as Gawain looked, lo! a hand black and hideous, nought so marvelous had he beheld before, came through the window, and took the taper, and extinguished the flame. Thereupon came a voice of lament so loud and so dire that it seemed as if the chapel itself rocked therefrom ». Gawain's steed made a spring and carried his master away from the chapel. In a short time Gawain arrived at the grail castle where he heard a loud lamentation, (doubtless because of an enchantment from which the people suffered). Then he saw the grail, the bleeding lance, and the broken sword. The people of the castle gave the hero the sword, and asked him to mend it. When he could not do this, they knew that he was not the destined hero. Soon afterward he fell asleep, and he awoke the next morning on a lofty cliff beside the sea, with no castle any longer in sight. He had been told that the sword had slain the lord of the castle who lay dead within, and that the kingdom of Logres was destroyed, and the country laid waste by a stroke of the sword. From the analogy of the English *Sir Perceval*, we may conclude that it was the giant of the demon-hand who had killed the knight, and laid waste the land. The destined hero must repair the sword, slay therewith

the giant, avenge the dead king, and thus make the land fruitful again.

Another French grail story is told by Manessier as a continuation to the *Perceval*. Like the story just outlined, it is preserved only in a form later than Chrétien, and has been altered by ecclesiastical interpolations, but it seems to give the original plot in tolerably consistent form. Here the grail king and his brother, Goon Desert, are at war with two foes, Espinogre and his nephew, Partinal. Goon Desert slew Espinogre. In revenge Partinal slew Goon Desert, but his sword broke. Goon Desert's body was brought to the grail castle, together with the broken sword. The grail king wounded himself accidentally with the pieces of the sword, and his wound might not be healed until Goon Desert's death was avenged. All this appears to be a rationalization of an enchantment which rests upon the land until the giant Partinal is slain. Savage tribes often believe that the prosperity of their land depends upon the health of their king; a belief that has been traced in ancient Ireland. Manessier relates a prophecy that a knight should come, repair the sword, and avenge the death of Goon Desert.

Manessier goes on to say that Perceval, when he sets out on the grail quest, comes first to the Chapel of the Black Hand which we are told has killed over four thousand knights. After many adventures he finds Partinal's castle, challenges him, cuts off his head, and carries it with him. At length he approaches the grail castle. As soon as the warders of the castle tell the king that a knight is approaching with a head hanging at his saddlebow, the king springs to his feet and is cured of his wound. Partinal's head is stuck on a pike on the tower of the castle. After this there is no mention of enemies or danger. Without doubt the enchantment is ended, and the grail king is restored to his former

splendor. Later Perceval himself becomes the grail king.

The grail story belongs to the oldest part of the Arthurian legend. It, and the main outlines of the Arthur story, have plots which can be pointed out in Ireland long before they are known anywhere else. We have, therefore, in the Arthur stories, material which is in part of Irish invention, although no doubt changed somewhat by the Welsh who transmitted it. Through the great stories of Arthur and the grail, the art of the Irish story-teller influenced all the literatures of western Europe.

IS GIBBONSSAGA A REFLECTION OF PARTONOPEUS ?

HENRY GODDARD LEACH

In my *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia* the Icelandic *Gibbonssaga* [1] was assigned with short notice to a place among the so-called « Byzantine » romances and to that particular group conjectured to have been imported by Icelandic students who visited France in the fourteenth century. In general readers

1. The saga is not yet published. In Copenhagen there are three sheepskin manuscripts and four paper copies and one manuscript of *rimur* based on the saga; in Stockholm one skin and three paper copies; and in Reykjavik at least four paper texts. The oldest existing copy is from the end of the fourteenth century. Text variants are not significant. The story has been briefly summarized by F. Jónsson in *Den Oldnorske og Oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*, 1902, III, 116-7, and by E. Kölbing in *Germanistische Studien*, II, 106-7. A synopsis of the saga, together with an analysis of its themes, typewritten in English, has been deposited by the writer in Harvard College Library. For bibliography see H. G. Leach, *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia*, 1921.

of my book have discussed only the main theme, that of reviewing the literary relations between England and Norway and particularly the transit of the romances of chivalry in the thirteenth century. As a corollary to these relations, however, the volume has a second major purpose, that of making a provisional classification of all the Scandinavian versions of foreign mediaeval romances. These include not only the Icelandic *riddarasögur* but also the exotic *lygisögur*, as well as Swedish and Danish versions of the tales of chivalry. At the end of the book a tentative catalog of some hundred and twenty-five titles is drawn up by cycle and century. A hundred years had passed since any one had been foolhardy enough to compile such a list, and it seemed high time to take the risk of revising it in the light of such results as scholarship had attained during that period, in the hope that investigation of this fascinating subject may be so far stimulated during the next century that this hypothetical chart can be torn limb from limb and reconstructed. The complete classification of folktales and romances built upon them, or even of any one type, carries the investigation through so many languages written and unwritten and over so many centuries of human record that I doubt if it can ever be achieved by any one mind, but only, as in other modern sciences, by some pooling of investigation, some co-operative process of group research.

For good reasons *Gibbonssaga*, in the above catalog, was assigned to the group transmitted from France rather than to that other vague category of « Matter largely Byzantine and Oriental » which I believe reflects an oral and written transmission to the Scandinavian countries direct by sea voyages from Constantinople and by the eastern overland route over Russia. While the geography of this saga is largely oriental and the

chief action is divided between Byzantium and India, the hero begins his adventures in France and is the son of a French king. The episodes, although complicated, are not so bewildering as in the sagas of a more pronounced oriental type. In spirit *Gibbon* is akin to the *Clarisaga*, a romance which ascribes its source to a known historical personage who brought it from Paris to Iceland. Finally the style of narrative in *Gibbonssaga* seems to be only a century later than *Partalópasaga*, the Icelandic version of the well-known mediaeval romance of *Partonopeus de Blois*, which travelled from England to Norway in the thirteenth century [1]. The relation of *Gibbonssaga* to *Partonopeus* is one of the thousand and one little questions suggested by the attempt to classify the Icelandic romances.

« Parténopeus de Blois », — to quote A. Trampe Bödtker's brief summary in his preface to the Middle-English versions, — « Parténopeus de Blois, in English Partonope of Blois, nephew of the king of France, is lost while hunting in the Ardennes. He embarks in an enchanted ship and arrives at a palace, the inhabitants of which are invisible. Here he is visited at night by Melior, queen of Byzantium. She promises to marry him when some years have passed, but stipulates that he must not try to see her in the meantime. On a visit to France Partonope is tempted by his mother and receives from her a magical lantern which breaks the spell. Banished and forlorn, Partonope resolves to die, but is saved by the queen's sister, Urake. After a three-days' tournament Partonope is again united to his lady [2].

1. Partalópa Saga, ed. O. Klockhoff; a translation from a lost Anglo-Norman version ; see *Angevin Britain*, 262 f., 383, and *Étude* (below), 47.

2. *The Middle-English Versions of Partonope of Blois*, ed. A. Trampe Bödtker. The French text was printed by G-.A. Crapelet, *Partonopeus de Blois*, 1834. For discussions and biblio-

It is a common practice to see in this romance an adaptation of the beautiful story of Cupid and Psyche as told in second-century Latin by Apuleius, with the sexes of the two chief characters reversed. The central situation, — enchanted palace, unseen servants, the lover who comes unseen at night, breaking the taboo by a light, — is the same. Others, however, have read into *Partonopeus* an adaptation of the Celtic theme of the Fairy Mistress [1], where Constantinople has taken the place of the fairy hill or the enchanted island across the sea, whither the hero is lured to dwell for a time in blessedness with an other-world woman, only to lose her by breaking some taboo and finding himself an old man. But folk-tales of the Fairy Mistress type are found as far from Ireland as Japan, where the hero makes his journey on the back of a turtle and the prohibition is associated with a sort of « Pandora's box ». The tale recorded by Apuleius likewise recurs in folk-lore the world over and sometimes in forms that retain the dripping of the candle wax on the body in the moment of revelation, as told in *Cupid and Psyche*, a feature that does not appear in *Partonopeus*. Dr. Beach [2] who has made an exhaustive study — unfortunately unpublished — of this general type of story, believes that the Psyche tale is derived from a primitive type of the narrative of the union of a human being

graphy see among others *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XIX, 629-648; E. Kölbing, *Über die Verschiedenen Gestaltungen der Partonopeus-Sage* (Germanistische Studien, II, 55-114, 312-316); A.-T. Bödtker, *Parténopeus de Blois, Étude comparative des Versions Islandaise et Danoise*, Christiania, 1904; C. Voretsch, *Einführung in das Studium der Altfranzösischen Literatur*, 1913, 384-6; *Angevin Britain*, 397.

1. Cf. Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, 1906, 307-8.

2. J.-W. Beach, *The Loathly Lady*, manuscript thesis. Harvard College Library.

with an animal which changes by night to man and lays on its human mate a taboo or prohibition. It is reasonable to assume that the experience of Partonopeus is a blending under Celtic influence of these two types: animal lover and fairy mistress. Both themes are among the endless variations of the primitive, popular, and universal speculation upon a mortal's amorous relations with a super — or sub — human creature.

It is generally agreed that the French romance of Partonopeus was written down in the last quarter of the twelfth century, possibly at Blois. In the following century it passed, no doubt, through an Anglo-Norman version, over England to Norway, where it may be grouped with those romances translated into Norwegian in the reign of Hákon the Old. The original Norwegian text is lost, but its content is preserved in the Icelandic *Partalópasaga* and also in a Danish metrical version called *Persenober*, derived from the Norwegian through the intermediary of a Swedish rendering. The Partonopeus story is represented by two well defined forms of the romance, only the first of which is now represented in French. In this version the romance commences in France and is introduced by a long account of the hero's Trojan ancestry. With it agree the German, the Dutch, the Middle English, and the Italian versions. The Scandinavian account follows a second version in which the romance begins in Greece; so also the Spanish and Catalan versions and a fragment of Middle English. This form of the story Bödtker, contrary to Kölbing, believes to be the later one, a shortened derivative from the longer French form of the romance with the Trojan ancestry [1].

Gibbon, unlike *Partalópi*, begins in France: A cer-

1. *Étude.*

tain King William ruled over France the Good. He had two children, a son named Gibbon and a daughter named Ferita, both exceedingly gifted. In knightly prowess there was no equal to Gibbon.

One bright day when the sun lighted all the earth Gibbon took his horse and went into the woods to hunt. Late in the day on a heath he saw standing a beautiful hind (hart in some mauuscripts) with hair that seemed to glow like gold. Gibbon shot at the beast, but she caught the arrow in her mouth and leaped away into the forest. Gibbon pursued all that day and night and the following day. At evening of the second day he came to a headland on which was a boulder, and on the boulder there lay spread a shining cloth. Longing for sleep and food, he mounted upon the carpet, leading his horse. At once the carpet began to ascend high into the air, and thereupon Gibbon fell fast asleep.

When he awoke, he realized that he had been asleep a long time and found himself in a bed adorned with gold, and covered with a spread shot with thread of gold. At the foot of the bed was a beautiful harp with strings alternating gold and silver. The chamber about him was sumptuously furnished. Gibbon got out of bed and began to explore his new gorgeous dwelling, compared to the magnificence of which the splendor of his father's residence seemed tawdry. Presently a table was placed before him on which he was served delicacies and all sorts of drink. Strange it seemed to him that he saw no one. When he had feasted he was taken by the hand, led back to bed, and undressed.

When he had been there a little while he became aware that a maiden was lying in the bed beside him. Her hair was so long that she could hide herself in it.

«By the god whom you worship», prayed Gibbon, « tell me who you are and to what land I have come !».

She replied that he was in Greece and that she was

Greca, daughter and heir of King Philip, and that by her knowledge of astronomy she had chosen him out of all the world and brought him here. He thought to embrace her then and there, but she refused that honor « Do you imagine that I have brought you here to rob me of my maidenhood and shame me before our marriage ? No, not for all the gold in Arabia ! ». Thereupon she waved over him a magic stone that rendered him altogether docile. But he was allowed to spend the night (and apparently all subsequent nights) by her side.

One day when they were playing together, Gibbon said that he was worrying lest his father and sister were grieving for him. Then Greca sent her dwarf, Lupus, with gifts to Gibbon's sister, Ferita. As a loan she sent her also a stone of three colors, — blue, gold, and red. By looking into the gold part one came to resemble an angel. Similarly the blue portion transferred the gazer into the likeness of a devil. By peering into the red section one saw the northern half of the world, and in this way Ferita was able to follow the movements of her brother and knew that he was not only well but blissfully happy.

When they had lived a year together and summer came round again Gibbon's desire to see Greca became overmastering. She warned him that this would bring disaster ; if he saw her then all would see him. At last, yielding to his entreaties, she took a stone and waived it over both their heads. Immediately he saw beside him a beautiful maiden ; her coloring was like blood dripped on white snow or linen on red silk. She combined grace and cleverness and all womanly arts. Her robes were of fur and purple interwoven with gold.

But Gibbon too became visible to Greca's father and his men, who came upon them with clash of weapons. Gibbon put on his helm and took his sword Jovis in

hand, prepared to sell his life dearly. Thereupon the door opened, and a huge man dressed like a monk burst into the room and threw his hood over Gibbon. The dwarf Lupus took him by the hand, and with the monk forcing a passage before them with his fists, led him away to safety. The monk later revealed himself as a young knight named Kollur.

In a tent by the sea Greca herself met them and bade Gibbon farewell. In parting she gave him gifts, including a harp made by dwarves, of such a nature that its note could be heard for three miles and all who heard it, man, beast, and bird, even though unwilling, must come.

To this point we are only at the introduction to *Gibbonssaga*. The second part of the story, the hero's adventure with the empress of India, we can sketch still more briefly, as, except in the *dénouement*, it bears no resemblance to the Partonopeus Cycle.

The dwarf struck the carpet with his whip, it ascended into the air, and Gibbon slept as before. They flew to France. His sister Ferita, by aid of the stone, had seen their approach and came out on the plain with her father and the court to receive him. He spend the winter at home.

In the summer he went hunting again, shot at a hart, missed it, and pursued until he lost his way. In an opening he met an ugly dwarf who knew Gibbon. The dwarf, whose name was Alfer, took him to his castle, where he entertained him elaborately. He told Gibbon that Greca was only the second most beautiful woman in the world, the most beautiful being Florentia, or Florentiana, ruler over one third of India. To win this princess suitors had to conform to two conditions: first defeat her champion, and second surpass herself in harp-play. The bodies of defeated lovers were displayed hanging to pillars outside her tower. As Gib-

bon wished to see this princess, Alfer took him to a chamber with drapery at each end. Behind one he saw Greca, behind the other Florentia, and Greca was not to be compared with her. « Venus shoots a burning arrow of love into the knight's breast ».

Gibbon came home to his sister's bower, where he went to bed, and neither slept nor ate for six nights. There was public grief over his condition. Then Kollur appeared with a drink which cured him.

Gibbon prepared a great expedition, and proceeded to India and to Florentia. On the way they were entertained at the capital of Agrippa, Florentia's father. Here Gibbon surpassed all knights in a grand tournament. Kollur took him to a certain dwarf who gave him a drink from a horn which made him exceedingly strong. The dwarf gave him also a battle outfit which Greca had ordered for him. Greca and Gibbon's sister, he learned, had been here a month ago and were now together in Greece. Greca also left for him a ring of such a nature that when he had it on nothing could be done for him which he did not wish.

Florentia received him and all seconded his suit. But, on consulting her *nattura*-stone, she discovered that Gibbon was destined to disgrace her, and ordered him out of her realm. He threatened her land with fire and sword, and she agreed to the harp contest. Though Gibbon defeated the maid-king in harping, she declared it was due not to his own skill but to the glove Greca had given him. Next day he conformed to the second requirement by overthrowing her champion Eskopart. As a pledge of honor Gibbon gave his sword Jovis to Eskopart's sister to hold during the duel, using himself a duller blade. Eskopart gave Gibbon his ring and called him « the most gallant knight in the world ».

Then Florentia collected an army and attacked

Gibbon and his little band. All were slain except himself and Kollur. He was rescued by Greca and Ferita, who descended on the cloth with the dwarf. They took him to the castle of Greca's kinsman, Alanus, Patriarch of India, where they left him to be well entertained, while Greca returned to Greece.

It is then related at length how Gibbon turned the tables by routing a hostile army which invaded Florentia's domain. One night Alfer and Kollur came to him. The latter enveloped Gibbon in a cloak. He took a stone from his pocket and let Gibbon look into the part where a man is likest the devil. The dwarf laughed and said. « You have altered your appearance ». They went to Florentia's tower, where she slept. Alfer waved a kerchief over her which drew all the strength out of her. Then Gibbon robbed her of her maidenhood, and his comrades did the same to her best serving-maids. In the morning Gibbon looked into the other part of the stone and resumed his normal appearance. Thus he came to live a year in the tower with Florentia, and she bore to him a son named Eskopart.

One day Gibbon went hunting, and pursued a « hiassi » [1] sporting with a lion. He lost control of his horse and perceived that he was fast to the saddle. The horse charged on to the sea-cliffs. Gibbon fainted. When he came to, he found himself on the carpet again and with him Greca, Ferita, Lupus, and Kollur. Greca said he should now go to live with her in Greece. They flew thither.

With all the pomp and ceremonies of the Byzantine court, Gibbon and Greca were married in Greece.

1. A rare Icelandic word for a mythical animal. See B. I. Hesselman, *Västnordiska Studier*, I, 14-16.

Agrippa came to the ceremony from India, and his son Margarita married Gibbon's sister Ferita.

Kollur now disclosed his identity, asking for help to regain his kingdom. His real name was Plato, and his father had been king of Germany. But there came a harrying host under Margarius, king of the Saracens, Margarius' mother, a terrible giantess, named Obscura, came in dragon shape, took Plato's father in her claws, and crushed all his bones. Before dying he gave his son a ring, and bade him go south in the forest to a rock where dwelt his friend, a dwarf, show him the ring, and bid him take care of Plato. The dwarf took Plato, with his own family, in a boat, without sail or oars, and they came to Greece. This dwarf was Alfer.

To avenge these wrongs Gibbon and Plato conducted an expedition into Germany. Obscura stood on the highest tower of the city, shooting into the battle arrows from every finger, and a knight fell at every arrow. Gibbon, with his sword Jovis, succeeded in cutting all the clothing off Margarius, but his mother had made his body impervious to the sword's bite. So Gibbon killed him by breaking his neck. Thereupon a carpet descended out of the air, and on it Lupus and a black wolf. It descended over Obscura's tower. The wolf leapt out on the giantess, and both fell to the plain. Gibbon hewed off her head. Out of the wolf's skin came Alfer. Thus Gibbon rewarded his faithful friends and returned triumphant to Constantinople.

About this time King William of France died. Gibbon and Greca had a son whom they named after his grandfather, and now all was quiet for twelve years.

In India, after Gibbon's flight, Florentia, stricken with grief, had retired into a cloister, giving her son to her kinsman Alanus. Here young Eskopart grew up to the age of fourteen. He had never seen his

mother and wished to know who his father was. Being told about his mother by the Patriarch Alanus, his guardian, he forced an entrance into his mother's cloister and demanded his father's name, threatening to burn the convent if she would not tell him. At last she confessed all, and he vowed to avenge her wrongs on his father.

Young Eskopart equipped a host and sailed to Greece. On the plain before Miklagarth [1] father and son engaged in single combat until both fell exhausted. They were separated and carried to separate apartments. The father, thinking he had killed his son, threatened to end his own life. The son experienced the same emotions. Ultimately both recovered and were reconciled. Gibbon ruled Greece, and his son Eskopart ruled France as long as they lived, and thus ends the saga.

The reader's first impression after reading this saga will be that we have here a combination of the Partonopeus legend with a story of the Perilous Princess type represented by Gibbon's adventure with Florentia, Empress of India. He will ask first of all if the first part of *Gibbon* is not merely a translation or paraphrase of *Partalópi*. A careful comparison of the texts, however, will soon show that this is not the case. Even where the actions of the two sagas are more nearly identical the description is quite different. Even at the moment when they coincide, when the maiden first enters the hero's bed, and when she lies revealed to him through the magic stone, the images connoted by the description are not the same. According to *Partalópi*, « Her skin was as white as fresh-fallen snow in dry woods; her cheeks were like the fairest rose ». To

1. « The Great City »; the Icelandic word for Byzantium or Constantinople.

Gibbon « Her coloring was like blood dripped in white snow or linen on red silk ». The two passages have snow in common but not the same images.

An attempt to parallel motifs will meet with somewhat more success. In both stories the hero is a French prince and the heroine a Byzantine princess. In both *Partalópi* and *Gibbon* we have the same situation of human relations whith a beast-by-day-human-by-night that, parts reversed, Apuleius glorified in prose and Raphael in painting in the tale of Cupid and Psyche. In each again this tale is combined with the Celtic form of Fairy Mistress story in which the hero is lured to his fate by an animal pursued on a hunting expedition. The animal does not entice him direct to the dwelling of the fairy but to an enchanted vehicle controlled by unseen hands on which he takes passage with his horse. In an enchanted palace he is waited on by unseen hands. The palaces are similar, adorned with gold and precious stones and provided with music. He is led to bed, but he does not long remain alone. He is conscious that a maiden is lying beside him. He remains in the palace for some months, enjoying her companionship at night, on condition that he shall not seek to see her. Finally the spell is broken by a magic stone which reveals the lady in all her loveliness. Alas, the spell is altogether broken, for the lovers are revealed to the men-at-arms who come to separate them from their bliss. The hero, however, is snatched away by a friend of the princess. After many adventures, wars, and tournaments, they are legally reunited, and the hero becomes emperor in Constantinople.

The above is perhaps about as strong a presentation of the similarity of the two romances as can be made, and evidence no stronger than this has established many identifications. By aid of a little juggling other

parts can be made to fit. Both herces, for example, are worried about their families at home. Partalópi has a faithful friend Barbarus, a prince in misfortune and disguise, while Gibbon has a similar companion named Kollur. Both lock themselves up for a time in their grief at losing their heart's desire. It might be advanced that *Gibbon* contracts the first half of the romance in order to expand the second half which has nothing to do with *Partalópi*, and that both end in a somewhat similar way with a grand tournament in Byzantium. Again Gibbon's unfaithfulness to Greca in the second part might be compared to Partalópi's temptation in France. Also incidents of *Partalópi* omitted in the first part of *Gibbon* creep into the India expansion. For example, we are presented in a subplot here to « a little boat without sail or oars ». It is true that the names of the characters are all different, but this does not mean so much when we find that both the Danish and the Icelandic versions of the Partonopeus story re-christen the heroine with a new name, calling her Marmoria and Constancianobis respectively, where the French has Meliur. Again, while the animal which leads young Gibbon astray is a hind or hart, unlike Partalopi's wild boar, this argument against identification loses force when the Danish version as well as the Middle-English fragment employ a deer, indicating merely that the Icelandic translator in *Partalópasaga* has been tampering with his zoology.

It is when we come to examine the two stories in detail, however, that the seeming identification begins to break down. The action of *Gibbon* begins in Greece, — as indeed does one branch of the continental *Partonopeus*, — while the Scandinavian version of *Partonopeus*, Icelandic and Danish, begins in France. In *Gibbon* it is the hero's sister who plays an important part

in the story, not the sister of the Byzantine princess. The portions of *Gibbonssaga* that in any way are parallel are not one fourth as long as *Partalópasaga*, even though the latter saga has slashed the long passages describing the glories of Constantinople and the pleasant emotions of the abducted prince that delighted the French poet.

The method of navigation is quite different. The ship that carries Partalópi to fairyland is replaced by an aerial vehicle, a strip of cloth or carpet which wafts the hero quickly to his happy fate. It may be claimed that this mediaeval airship is a modern device, but it looks to me rather oriental and foreign to the Celtic amalgam that characterizes the Partonopeus legend. As far as I remember, the Irish fairy mistresses are not on record as employing anything resembling an aeroplane. This magic carpet is steered by a dwarf named Lupus (invisible until after the disenchantment) who sets it going by switching it with a whip. The magic carpet occurs in another Icelandic romance, one of those which I have arbitrarily assigned [1] to direct or over-Russia transmission without the aid of a French or English intermediary from Byzantium to the North, the « Saga of Victor and Blaus ». Here the airship is set in motion by reading runes woven into the fabric. It is this saga that relates in its preface how one of the Norwegian kings had foreign romances translated into Norwegian, not from the French only but also from the Greek

As the cloth rises in the air Gibbon falls asleep and does not awake until he finds himself in a strange bed. Partalópi, on the contrary, travels with his eyes open. He looks into the strange city, rides on his own horse to the castle, and takes note of all he sees. Everything

1. *Angevin Britain*, 263, 265, 268, 286, 384.

is visible to him except human beings. It is true that in *Gibbon* we get an abbreviated description later, when the hero gets out of bed, explores the premises, receives his supper, and again retires to the final ending of a happy day. The repartee in *Partalópi* in which the princess reproaches the stranger for his boldness is missing. Instead Greca promptly tells Gibbon who she is and that she has sent her dwarf Lupus to fetch him on her magic carpet. And then comes a vital divergence in the Gibbon story. Instead of yielding to Gibbon's advances, the Greek princess shows a resolute respect for chastity entirely lacking in any of the known versions of *Partonopeus*. He may live with her but that is all until their marriage, an event that can be consummated only after overcoming certain inhibitions not clearly explained by the saga writer.

Instead of making two journeys home to France before the breaking of the enchantment, as in *Partalópi*, the hero remains steadily in Greca's palace. The defence of Paris, the efforts of his parents to wean him away from his mysterious mistress, these are lacking. Instead, Greca sends home to Gibbon's sister a magic stone in which she may follow his movements and find consolation. When the prince insists in his desire to see Greca, it is she and not he who produces and wields the magic stone which breaks the spell. It is her father who comes with his men to apprehend Gibbon. In *Partalópi* the emperor was dead and his daughter was empress. And it is not her sister who rescues the unhappy victim of breaking the taboo but her trusted knight in the guise of a monk, and her dwarf. In both stories, it is true, he is conveyed back to Paris by the vehicle in which he came.

Here the parallelism breaks down completely. For now Gibbon sets off on another adventure which occupies the major portion of the saga, rich in activities

and excursions of which the foregoing is but an introduction. For cumulative effect I might strengthen the argument by rehearsing all the episodes found here foreign to Partonopeus, but their remoteness must impress anyone who has only read the brief sketch of the narrative above : the servant-dwarf, the stone of three colors, the magic harp, the chamber of visions, the perilous princess won by overcoming her in two contests, the lovers hanging to the pillars outside her court, the division of India into three kingdoms, the tournament in the far east, the strength drink, the magic glove, the conditions of the duel with the champion, the two cloaks of conspiracy, the locks that open before the dwarf, the bewitched horse, the monster Obscura, the close relations between Constantinople and India, the duel between father and son, these motives and many more are altogether foreign to the versions of the Partonopeus story known to us.

Taken as a whole the saga becomes a variant of some type of the story of the man with two wives. Saxo's Hamlet, for example, had his two wives, the one in England, the other in Scotland. A French prince has his adventures with a lady of the Fairy Mistress type in Greece and with another of the Perilous Princess type in India. The first is protected by a taboo, the second by tests of music and valor. He loses this first mistress by breaking the taboo and wins the second by performing the tests, but only to be taken back by the first! The magic carpet whirling through the air connects the two parts, the grand adventure in Greece with the dangerous exploit in India. As is meet and proper in many of the later Icelandic romances, the hero ends his days ruling over Miklagarth, « the great city » which Byzantium was to the Old Norse world.

There are other Icelandic romances to which the

latter portion of *Gibbon* is closer akin than to *Partalópi*, tales of the cunning princess, wise in clerkdom. In *Nítidassaga*, the skillful maiden queen of France visits Virgil's isle, steals his magic treasures, and by their means outwits many suitors, including the crown prince of Byzantium, but yields at last to Livorius, a prince of India [1].

Perhaps the theme which *Partalópi* and *Gibbon* have most strikingly in common is the use of a stone instead of a lantern with which to break the disenchantments. The stone is not found in other versions of Partonopeus, but probably was used in the lost Anglo-Norman sources. The Danish version has a stone in a ring. Is it not more reasonable to suppose this device to go back ultimately to a folk tale in the Anglo-French home of romances, a folk tale common both to the Gibbon and the Partonopeus tradition in which the so-called Celtic lure is combined with the tale which Apuleius appropriated to Cupid and Psyche?

1. *Angevin Britain*, 268, 384.

CONCLUSION

When all is said it may be argued that our discussion has been rendered futile by the possibility that *Gibbonssaga* is the compilation of an Icelandic « faker », a writer of fiction, from various motives of universal folk tradition. The mention of dwarves and trolls will be adduced as something locally Icelandic, as well as the fact that the saga in its later parts degenerates into a mere inventory of adventures. But if the transcribers of the saga have introduced a certain amount of Icelandic color, so have the transcribers of *Partalópi*. And the very accumulation of incidents, between which the connection sometimes is almost wholly lost, indicates rather the impatience of a translator boiling down the windy explanations and soliloquies of a French original. The action was always more important to the Icelandic audience than the philosophy of the situation, as will be observed by anyone who compares the Icelandic *Tristram* or the Icelandic *Partalópi* with their antecedent texts in England or in Normandy. The Icelandic *Gibbon* expresses this impatience when the writer pauses in his poetic description of Greca's beauty and dress and says, « Let us cease dwelling on these things as well as on many anecdotes of wars and adventures which might be set forth in a big book, for we will have to pass them by, and in few words and brief present those matters that are remarkable, and return to the story again for the entertainment of good fellows. » This passage about a « big book » I believe to be a direct reference to a foreign original.

The Icelandic romances are not alone in introducing incidents as mysterious, unconnected, and

unexplained as the afflictions of Job. Students of Crestien are familiar with the puzzles he has created by introducing bits of Celtic folklore *non sequitur* without apparent motive. Doubtless in his own day he would have been quite as much at a loss to explain them as we students are now. Folklore, when taken from the lips of the people, tends to be direct in relating cause and effect. The writer of mediaeval romance, on the other hand, was not a folklorist; he accepted his stories as they came to him with a sort of mystical credulity: « Thus it is told by men of old ». To explain the human passions that lead Gibbon's first mistress to help him conquer his second mistress and then wean him away again would baffle the powers of psychoanalyst. By Greca, princess of Greece, Gibbon begets a son named William, who in the next paragraph disappears from the story. When it comes to the distribution of the empire, France is allotted to Eskopart, Gibbon's other son by the empress of India. Poor William's fate in unrecorded! Possibly he died of infantile paralysis, but more likely he was the hero of a long sub-plot in the lost « big book », a mongrel-Latin or Old-French redaction of *Gibbon de France et Greca de Constantinople.*

Uncertain as evidence but not without value are the frequent Latin forms of proper names and the foreign names in general: Agrippa, Maritus, Florentiana, Fransus, Venus, Alanus, « patriarch of India », (*o* in the oblique cases), Plato, Nuntius, Margarius, Obscura, Greca (in the accusative *Grecam*), Lupus, Gasconia.

The answer to the question with which we began is that *Gibbon* is not a redaction, not even a reflection of *Partonopeus*. It is derived from an independent romance, from a lost Latin or French original, that, like *Partonopeus*, draws more from the drifting folklore of

antiquity and the Orient than from static Celtic tradition. Crude and episodic as this romance is in comparison with the high standards of Arthurian story, it preserves, even when its wandering adventure reaches India, — the dignity of the tournament and contains many graceful passages reminiscent of a Continental or Anglo-Norman original, pallid indeed after the ravages of time, transcription, and oral recitation.

THE IDENTITY OF BRONS IN ROBERT DE BORON'S METRICAL JOSEPH

WILLIAM A. NITZE

The *Metrical Joseph* gives to the Fisher King (*li riches Peschierres* [3477] and *li boens Peschierres* [3456]) the name Hebrons or Brons, as appears from the following passage, v. 2307 ff. :

> Joseph une sereur avoit,
> Enygeus par non l'appeloit;
> Et sen serourge par droit non,
> Quant vouloit, apeloit Hebron.
> Hebrons forment Joseph amoit,
> Pour ce que mout preudons estoit.
> Quant Brons et sa femme perçurent
> Que Joseph vivoit, lié en furent.

The form *Brons* is also found elsewhere in the poem. It is he who catches the fish which Joseph places on the Grail table by the side of the Grail, whereupon

the starving who are without sin are filled « with sweetness and the desire of their heart. » [1]. It is he who begets twelve sons, from one of whom, Alain, the Grail keeper is to descend. Lastly, it is Brons who shall carry the Grail overseas to Britain, there to await the arrival of his grandson, to whom he shall surrender « the vessel and the grace, » thus completing the trio of possessors (Joseph of Arimathea, Brons, and Perceval?), emblematic of the Trinity. While Brons and the Grail are not said to go to Glastonbury, his grandson is certainly to go thither (*es vaus d'Avaron*[2].)

Two theories have been proposed with reference to the origin of the name *Brons*.

Richard Heinzel, *Französische Gralromane*, 94, denies that the name was originally taken from « the city of Hebron or the Celtic [hero] Bran ». On the contrary, he thinks that since the mediaeval documents call Veronica, the sister of Joseph, *mulier Veronica* or, indeed, *mulier Fronica*, this expression was wrongly paraphrased in French as *femme de Bron*, which the scribe then interpreted as « the woman from Hebron » through a false division of the words into

1. Compare the miraculous feeding in the other Grail romances. In the Welsh *Kulhwch and Olwen* (Loth, *Mabinogion*, 2nd ed., 1) Gwyddno's basket (*mwys*) has the property that « if the whole world should come together, thrice nine men at a time, the meat that each of them desired would be found within it » and Gwyddno is probably a fisher (for the most recent treatment of him, see A. C. L. Brown, *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, 242). As in Robert, feeding without the intervention of visible service occurs in Crestien, in the *Queste*, and in Wolfram; and Wolfram has the additional trait that the sight of the Grail preserves from death (*Parzival*, 469, 14). For moral tests by means of natural objects in Irish, see Cross, *Mod. Phil.* X (1913), 4 ff. See below our remarks on the legend of Bran.

2. This agrees with the *Perlesvaus* (see below), in which the Grail itself is not located in Glastonbury.

femme d'Ebron (compare *ab Arimathia*, interpreted by Robert himself as *de Berimathie*, v. 1407). Thus, since the expression *femme de Bron* might mean either « woman from Hebron » or « wife of Bron, » the further idea arose of having the Grail dynasty descend from Joseph's sister, in a matriarchal line. This explanation of Heinzel's is ingenious; its weakness lies in the fact that the expression *femme de Bron* does not occur in the texts. As for the matriarchal descent, this idea has much in its favor, provided we remember that as early as Crestien the Grail dynasty descends in a matriarchal line: Perceval is the sister's son of the Grail King [1].

The other theory as to the origin of *Brons* is that of Alfred Nutt, *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail*, 218 ff., and of the Celticists who have followed in his footsteps. According to this view, *Brons* is originally the Celtic (Irish and Welsh) *Bran*, which became *Brons* or *Hebrons*, as in the above text, by a more or less conscious identification of the Celtic name with the biblical Hebron, [2] occurring in *Exodus*, VI, 18: « And the sons of Kohath [*Caath.*]: Amram and Izhar, and Hebron and Uzziel. » It is this view that I would uphold in the present article.

Like Brons, Bran is associated with a mysterious overseas voyage. This occurs in the *Voyage of Bran, son of Febal* (*Imram Brain maic Febail*), which Kuno

1. On the chronology of Robert as represented by the Grail dynasty, see Huet, *Moyen Age*, XXIII (1923), 138-150.

2. This suggestion is my own. See now Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, II, 132 ff. According to *Numbers*, III, 31, the Ark of the Covenant was entrusted to the Kohathites. This idea, obviously, influenced Robert de Boron, who chose Hebron [or Brons] from among the Levites — guardians of the Ark — in order to make him guardian of the Grail, because of the similarity of his name with that of Bran.

Meyer places among the oldest remnants of Irish story-telling. Yet old as this tale is (the 7th century), it itself is a compilation connected with the large stock of *imrama* or Irish voyages in search of paradise. See the two fundamental articles of Zimmer, *Zeit. f. deutsch. Altherth.*, XXXIII (1889), and *Zeit. f. vergl. Sprachfor.*, XXVIII (1887). In its most Christianized form, this type of story is found as the *Legend of St. Brendan* or *Brandan* (*Peregrinatio sancti Brandani abbatis*), which was known on the Continent as early as the eleventh century and enjoyed great popularity in the vernacular literatures throughout the Middle Ages [1].

It is, therefore, *a priori* plausible that if the author of the *Metrical Joseph* needed a character to serve as an intermediary between Joseph of Arimathea (the possessor of the Cup of the Last Supper), on the one hand, and the son of Alain (the possessor of the Grail), on the other, he should choose such a personage as Bran for this purpose. Let us now see what additional support this hypothesis can claim.

The reader will recall that Brons, having received the Holy Vessel from Joseph, is to carry it to a low-lying district in the West, close to Glastonbury. Obviously, one of the objects of our author is to show how Christianity is brought to the British or, to be more specific, to the Welsh. Moreover, this fits in with the fact that Crestien places the Grail-story in Wales; and Bran is known not only to Irish but also to Welsh legendaries. If we confine ourselves to the Irish *imram*, we find that Bran's voyage is a typical

1. See, in addition, Kuno Meyer and Alfred Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran*, 2 vols., London, 1895-97, and Carl Schröder, *Sanct Brandan, ein lateinischer und drei deutsche Texte*, Erlangen, 1871. Compare now the article of W. F. Thrall, *Manly Anniversary Studies*, 1923, pp. 276-283.

journey to the Irish Otherworld, and that, not unlike the *Metrical Joseph*, the text predicts the coming of Christianity.

> A noble salvation will come
> From the King who has created us,
> A white law will come over seas,
> Besides being God, He will be man.

Nevertheless, the underlying pagan concept of the tale is obvious : the Otherworld is guarded by Manannán, son of Lir, the nearest Celtic analogue we have to the Fisher King or Rich Fisher of the Grail romances. It is a land without death or decay, a land of delight and plenty. In section 62, we read :

> The food that was put on every dish vanished
> Not from them. It seemed a year to them that
> They were there, — it chanced to be many years.
> No savour was wanting to them.

And of Manannán it is said (section 52) :

> He will delight the company of every fairy-knoll
> . . . . . .
> He will make known secrets — a course of wisdom —
> In the world, without being feared [1].

Turning next to the Welsh texts, we find in one of the oldest parts of the *Mabinogion* [2] that Bran, the Blessed (*Bendigeit Vran*), is king of Britain and wears the supreme crown at London. He is the son of Llyr

1. For a similar idea, compare *Metrical Joseph*, v. 3330 ff., where Joseph is told to confide to Brons the *paroles, douces et précieuses..... ki sunt proprement apelées, Secrez dou Graal et nummées.* See also *Numbers*, III, 31 : « And their charge shall be the ark, and the table, and the candlestick, and the altars, and the vessels of the sanctuary wherewith they minister, etc. ».

2. The story of *Branwen, daughter of Llyr*, for French translation, see J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, 2nd edition, Paris, vol. I.

(compare above), the brother of Manawyddan (compare the Irish Manannán). He has a « cauldron of regeneration, » and when asked how he procured it, he explains that :

Un jour que j'étais à la chasse en Iwerddon [Ireland], sur le haut d'un tertre qui dominait un lac appelé *Lynn y Peir* (le lac du Chaudron), j'en vis sortir un grand homme aux cheveux roux [compare the Red Knight of the romances], portant un chaudron sur le dos.

The cauldron has the following power :

Si on tue un homme aujourd'hui, tu n'auras qu'à le jeter dedans pour que le lendemain il soit aussi bien que jamais, sauf qu'il n'aura plus la parole [1].

Thus, Bran, the son of Llyr, possessor of a « cauldron » of regeneration, is not unlike Brons, the Rich Fisher, possessor of the life-sustaining Grail ; and the fact that the « cauldron » came from a lake beside a hill (that is, probably the Otherworld) has a parallel to the lake and the hill in the Crestien-Wolfram account of the Grail castle [2].

The same Welsh tale relates that Bran is wounded in the foot by a poisonous lance (compare the wounding of the Fisher King in Crestien and Wolfram) [3], and he then gives orders to cut off his head and bury it, with the face turned toward France, in the White Hill of

1. While the Grail does not restore to life, it at least preserves life and it has the power to render the beholder speechless; see also Nutt's explanation of the taboo (*gess*) of silence, *op. cit.*, 211.

2. See A. C. L. Brown, « Notes on Celtic Cauldrons of Plenty and the Land-beneath-the-Waves », in the *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, 235-249, for an excellent discussion of this whole question. As Brown observes, in the Wauchier account of Gawain's visit to the Grail castle the palace of the Fisher King is far out on the sea.

3. *Conte del Graal*, v. 4691 : *parmi les hances ambedeus.*

London. On the journey thither, which will take years, the head will be an « agreeable company » to Bran's companions. So it happens. At Gwales in Penvro they find :

Un endroit agréable, royal, *au-dessus des flots*, et une grande salle [1]... Ils y passèrent la nuit *au milieu de l'abondance et de la gaieté*. Quoi qu'ils eussent vu, quoi qu'ils eussent entendu, ils ne se rappelèrent rien, non plus qu'aucun chagrin du monde. Ils y passèrent quatre-vingts années de telle sorte qu'ils ne se rappelaient pas avoir eu un meilleur temps ni plus agréable dans toute leur vie.

Ils n'étaient pas plus fatigués ; aucun d'eux ne s'apercevait que l'autre fût plus vieux de tout ce temps qu'au moment où ils y étaient venus. La compagnie de la tête ne leur était pas plus pénible que pendant que Bendigeit Vran était en vie. C'est à cause de ces vingt années passées ainsi qu'on désigne ce temps sous le nom de *Banquet de la tête sacrée*.

Here we have again the Otherworld setting, and the thoughtful reader will recall that in the Welsh *Peredur* the place of the Grail is taken by « a head on a platter ».

Finally, in a late Welsh triad [2] it is said that « Bran Vendigaid [the Blessed], son of Llyr Llediaith, brought the Christian faith from Rome to the Cymri ».

In the light of the foregoing facts, it is clear that the personage of Bran was singularly well-adapted to such a poem as Robert's, provided we grant — as it seems we must — that the Grail story according to Crestien was already familiar [3]. Robert's chief Christian sources, as pointed out by Birch-Hirschfeld [4], were *Matt.*, XXVI,

1. Compare the Grail Castle in the French romances.

2. Taken from a MS. known under the name of the *Book of Jeuan Brechva* (who died about 1500) ; see Loth, *op. cit.*, II, 308.

3. See my article on « The Date of Robert de Boron's *Joseph* » in the *Manly Anniversary Studies*, Chicago, 1923, pp. 300-315.

4. *Die Sage vom Gral*, 217 and 222.

the *Gesta Pilati* (*Evangelium Nicodemi*) and the *Vindicta Salvatoris*. Newell has shown [1] that Robert also drew on the *Gemma Animae* (12th century) of Honorius of Autun for his exposition of the symbolism of the mass; whereas Hertz [2] made clear that the *Vita Petri et Pauli* (10th century) may well have been his source for the interpolation of Peter as an apostle to the British. Obviously, Robert de Boron was an eclectic, bent on identifying whatever could be identified. Accordingly, his narrative suffers from its compilatory character. But the outstanding fact of his story is that Brons brings the Grail to Britain and that Brons *is* the Fisher King.

It is unnecessary to repeat here what others have said about the originally Celtic character of the Grail — as an idea. Suffice it to observe merely that its *essential*, life-sustaining trait is amply explained by a reference to the innumerable life-sustaining vessels in Irish and Welsh tales. As in the Grail story by Crestien, so in Celtic legend, the vessel is a talisman of a Happy Otherworld; compare, for example, the passages quoted above from the *Voyage of Bran* and the *Mabinogion*. It becomes probable, then, that Robert himself made the change from Crestien's description of the Grail as a « dish » to the later concept of the Grail as a « cup » or « chalice », although this is a detail which, whether true or false, would not affect the validity of the general theory we are engaged in supporting.

On the other hand, the fact that Brons *is* the Fisher King, according to Robert, should open our eyes to the significance of Nutt's identification of him with Bran. For not only has Brons many of Bran's traits, as

1. *The Legend of the Holy Grail*, 25 ff.
2. *Parzival* translated, 2nd ed., 428.

we have seen above, but the character of the Fisher King, as he appears in Crestien and elsewhere, has traits which remind one of the Celtic Bran. It may be useful to recapitulate them here. First, both characters are connected with the water or the sea (the Irish *Ler*), both possess a life-sustaining vessel, both are dwellers in a land of joy and abundance, unmarred by the passage of time (the Happy Otherworld). With less certainty, it may be added that both are connected — ritualistically [1] — with the welfare of the soil.

Let us suppose, then, that Robert was acquainted with some version — either written or oral — of the legends about Bran, how would he presumably have adapted this material to his purpose? First, he would have changed the name *Bran* to the biblical *Hebron* (thus *Brons* in O. F.), for Hebron (*Exodus*, VI, 18) is precisely one of those who were to have charge of the Ark of the Covenant and were also to bring the children of Israel out of Egypt (compare the similar command given to Joseph by Christ, *Metr. Jos.*, v. 2460 ff.). Second, he would have rationalized the epithet of « Fisher King » in accordance again with the tenets of Christianity. Thus the name Fisher King would be connected with the words of the Saviour : « I shall make ye fishers of men » (*Matt.*, IV, 19; *Mark*, I, 17;

1. See my articles on the Fisher King in *PMLA*, XXIV (1909), 365-418, and *Modern Philology*, IX (1912), 291-322. Variants of Bran are probably Brion and Brian. Stokes, *Revue celtique*, XII (1891), shows that in the *Cath Maige Turedth* [CMT] victory depends upon the objects brought to Lug by Brion. Brian, a name that survives in the Brian des Illes of the *Perlesvaus*, is a « god of the T. D. D. and son of Brigit, grandson of the Dagda » (Brown, *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, 244). In the so-called *Elucidation* the mother of Perceval is to go to a Saint Brandain d'Escoce, see v. 1038 in Potvin, II. Rhys, *Arth. Leg.*, 120, identifies Geoffrey's Brennius with Bran. See also Brown, *Mod. Phil.*, XIV, (1916), 398, and XXII (1924), 83-84.

Luke, V, 10), and a rich fisher (compare Robert's *li riches Peschierres*) would be one who converts many. Not only would this fit Brons, but in the biblical account of the feeding of the multitudes (compare *Matt.*, XIV, 19) fish are mentioned, and St. Peter is himself a fisher. Hence Robert, on the authority of the *Vita Petri et Pauli*, would naturally have added Peter (*Petrus* in his text) as an apostle to the British. And finally, he would have transferred the secrets of the Grail, as implied by Crestien, to the secrets of the mass, as expounded by Honorius of Autun — just as he himself sets up a parallel to the Round Table of Arthur in the Grail table of Joseph, so obviously modelled on the table of the Last Supper.

Most of these facts have been known for some years. The object of the present study is to demonstrate their cogency by setting them in their logical order. If we can accept the view here expressed, then we get the following development :

1. Crestien de Troyes, in his *Conte del Graal*, began the Christianization of an originally Celtic life-sustaining dish by stating (v. 7789 ff.) :

> Tant sainte chose est li graaus
> E tant par est esperitaus,
> Qu'à sa vie plus ne covient
> Que l'oiste qui el graal vient ;

compare the *hanc immaculatam hostiam* of the Roman mass, and the fact that the passage is taken from the Good Friday episode.

2. Robert de Boron, writing later than Crestien (after 1191), carries the Christianizing process a step farther by identifying the Grail with the Cup of the Last Supper and relating how the latter was transmitted from Joseph to the Fisher King, now called Brons or Hebrons, the Rich Fisher, who brought it to

England (close to Avalon or Glastonbury), where it is to go to the son of Alain.

3. The author of the *Perlesvaus*, writing after Robert de Boron, then relates how this Christianized Grail passes to Perceval, the son of Alain, citing as his authority a book which he claims was written in Glastonbury Abbey.

The author of the *Perlesvaus*, drawing so fully on Robert for the early history of the vessel, yet never calls the Fisher King by any specific name. Why, we may ask, is this the case? Presumably for two reasons: first, his main authority is Crestien and not Robert; second, the local Glastonbury tradition gave to Glast, the eponymic founder of the Abbey, twelve sons, and hence the author of the *Perlesvaus* could not go contrary to the tradition by making Alain and his eleven brothers, as in Robert de Boron, the lineal descendants of Brons[1]. At the same time, the second brother of Alain is known in the *Perlesvaus* as Bruns (or Brons) Brandalis, an evident survival of the name.

It is, of course, clear that any such reconstruction as that given above is tentative and thus subject to emendation. But so much appears certain: namely, that the identification of Brons with the Celtic Bran is in every respect more plausible than the purely Christian explanation of the name proposed by Heinzel.

1. For the detail of this, see my article, « The Date of the *Perlesvaus* » in *Modern Philology*, XVII (1919), 153.

BLIOCADRAN,

THE FATHER OF PERCEVAL

E. BRUGGER

The origin of the name of a hero's father often throws some light on the origin of the legend of the hero himself.

In my contribution to *Aus romanischen Sprachen und Litteraturen, Festgabe für Heinrich Morf*, Halle, 1905, I discussed two of the names given by Perceval romances to the hero's father, *Alain* and *Gahmuret*, which I believed and still believe to have originally existed in combination : *Alain de Gomeret*, i. e. Alain of Vannes.

I may be permitted here to revert to this subject. I suggested (p. 3) that *Gomeret* was a graphical corruption of *Goinet* (= *Goinnec* in Wauchier's *Grail* and *Gohenet* in *Li Biaus Desconëus*[1]). I was able to confirm

1. In Miss G. Perrie Williams' edition we find *Goheriet* (5452); *ri* and *n* are often hardly distinguishable in MSS. Though

this in a later paper, *Zeitschrift für franz. Sprache u. Litt.*, 30,2, p. 204 (cf. also *Zs.*, 36,2, p. 59), having found *Bron li rois de Gomeret* (Wauchier MS. BN. 1429) instead of *Et* (MS. & ?) *Broc* (read *Ebroc*?) *li rois de Goïnnec* of the MS. Montpellier [1].

M. F. Lot (*Etude sur le Lancelot en prose*, p. 147 f), while agreeing with my view that *Gahmuret* was originally the geographical name *Gomeret* and that *Gomeret* was identical with *Genewis-Benoïc* (<**Guenoïc* or **Venoïc*, no doubt by assimilation to the preceding personal name, Ban)-*Gauoni* [2], rejects my identification of these names with Vannes (the adjective is *vannetais*!) [3], asserting that their etymon is *Gwynedd* (North-Wales). I am sure that he is mistaken. Indeed I knew and even positively said (p. 5) that, merely from a phonetical point of view, the above mentioned names might be equally well derived from the Welsh name

Hippeau is known as an unreliable editor, I think it extremely probable that it was Miss Williams who read amiss. Anyhow trisyllabic *Goheriet* is impossible in this text, of which neither the author nor the scribe was a Wallon.

1. *Bron* = *Ban*? Cf. *li rois Ban de Gomeret* in *Erec* and in *Li Biaus Desconëus*. I use this opportunity for mentioning that in Wauchier v. 15859, MS. Brit. Mus. 36614 has *De Goumaret et de Gauvoie* instead of Potvin's *Cil de Gales et de Gauvoie* (I am indebted for this knowledge to the kindness of Miss J. L. Weston), and that in Chrétien's *Perceval* MS. Arsenal has *Ban de Gamorret* (whence Wolfram's *Gahmuret*) (cf. San Marte, *Mährchen des rothen Buches*, p. 225).

2. M. Lot says : *pour Ganovic*. I doubt it. I should rather say : **Goïnet* >*Goï(n)nec* (recorded)> **Goënic* (metathesis)> **Goueni*>*Gauoni*. I think that in *Genewis-Benoïc* it was the *o* or *u* that has moved, having been originally in the first syllable; likewise the *i* of the penultima has changed place with the *e* of the ultima; *s*<*c*<*t* [cf. *Pluris* in Lanzelet <*Penevric Pe(n)uris* in Erec].

3. P. Paris had already suggested Vannes (*Romans de la Table Ronde*, II, p. 110).

of North-Wales and the Breton name of Vannes, since both these were phonetically identical, though of different derivation and meaning, Old Breton *Wenet-Guenet* being the name of the people called by the Romans *Veneti* (cf. Rosenzweig, *Dictionnaire topographique de Morbihan*, p. 282; A. de Courson, *Cartulaire de Redon*, p. CXXXVIII), while Welsh *Gwynedd* corresponds to Irish *fine* = *affinitas*, tribe (cf. Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, I, § 96; J. Loth, *Mab.*, 2nd ed., I, p. 174, n. 1; J. E. Lloyd, *History of Wales*, I, p. 40 [1]).

M. Lot's only argument is : Les Français n'ont connu le chef-lieu du Morbihan que sous les formes Vannes et Vennes (voy. E. Langlois, *Onomastique des chansons de geste*, p. 667; Rosenzweig, *Dict. top.*, p. 282 [2]). If we look up these authorities, we find that M. Langlois instances *Vennes* only in the *Chanson d'Aiquin* (composed about 1180) and Rosenzweig *Venes*, *Vanes*, *Vennes* in three charters of 1273, 1336, 1424. M. F. Lot might have added the romances of

1. Concerning French initial *Go*<Breton *Gu* (= *Gw*) cf. French *goémon* <Breton *gwemon*; French *goéland* <Breton *gwelan*, *goelan*, *guillanou* (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymol. Wörterbuch*; J. Loth, *Vocabulaire vieux-breton*, p. 138; Pedersen, *loc. cit.*, I, § 21). Cf. also in Breton *Goello* = earlier *Wello* (*Velaviensis pagus*) : A. de Courson, *loc. cit.*, p. CXCVI.

2. Why did he not also observe that, though North-Wales is frequently mentioned in French charters, chronicles and romances, we hardly ever find it called otherwise but *Norgales* ? The only exception known to me is the *Histoire de Foulques Fitz-Warin*, in which we read (ed. F. Michel, p. 1) : *En ycel temps Ywein Goynez fu(s)t prince de Gales.* This prince was Owen Gwinned (= of Gwynnedd) (1137-1169). However, here Gwynned was used as a surname to distinguish this personage from Owain Cyfeiliog, his contemporary (cf. E. Lloyd, *Hist. of Wales*, p. 487 f). This was probably the only reason, why the Welsh name Gwynedd was preserved in French and why the French nominative ending was added.

Caradoc and *Meriaduec* quoted by myself. Surely M. Lot thinks very little of the judgment and capacities of his readers, if he expects them to be convinced by such a poor argument. We often find two names to designate the same country or place (e. g. *Lodien*, *Loenois*). How could records of 1180 and later prove that at an earlier period no other forms were used?

Since final *t*, *d* > *s* is impossible in French, it must be a Celtic development. Medial and final *t*, *d* (*th*, pronounced as a spirant) gradually became *ȝ*, *s* in Cornish and Breton (cf. H. Zimmer, *Zs. f. frz. Spr.*, XIII, 40; Pedersen, *Grammatik*, I, § 351/28-31, § 344)[1]. I suppose that *Guenet* > *Guenes* must be explained in this way or by analogy. A development *th* (*dd*) > *s* is unknown to Welsh phonetics. A Frenchman who heard or saw in his source *Guenet* was sure to write *Guenet* or *Goenet*.

M. Lot also objected to my identifying *Gannes* (*Gaunes*, sometimes *Gennes*) with *Vannes*, relying on the argument quoted above, but there is no more difference between *Gannes* and *Vannes* than e. g. between *garder*, *warder*, *varder* or Breton *Wenet*, *Guenet*.

Both *Gannes* and *Benoic* are described in the Lancelot as being situated *en la marche de Gaule et de la Petite Bretaigne*[2]. Both are a *terre* and a *cité*; the same is true of Guenet, but not of Gwynedd. M. Lot was obliged to say : « Le Lancelot voulant faire de Lancelot un Français transfère tranquillement en Gaule le Benoic (Genewis) insulaire ». The usual thing was

1. Cf. in J. Loth's Chrestomathie *Blavet* 871, *Blaved* 1125, *Blaveȝ* 1184, *Blaouez* 1406; *Pert*, *Perȝ*; in *Rev. Celt.*, XIII, 496 : *tuth* > *teuȝ*.

2. The author must have taken *Gannes* and *Benoic* from different sources. The dynasty of Gannes is not primitive in the Lancelot (cf. the *Lanȝelet*).

transferring Continental places to Great Britain, King Arthur's country. There is not the slightest indication that the author wished to make Lancelot a Frenchman : he merely inspired him with the French spirit of chivalry as he did King Arthur and all the other knights.

M. Lot omitted altogether mentioning *le roi Hoel de Gohenet*, though this form comes nearest of all to the etymon, whether it be Guenet or Gwynedd; but *Hoel* is a name characteristic of the Breton dynasties. There were divers counts of Nantes and dukes of Brittany of this name and some of them were originary of Vannes; cf. also *Hoel* in Geoffrey of Monmouth *dux (rex) Armoricanorum Britannorum*; *Aramont sires de Bertaigne la menour que les gens apeloient Hoel en sornon* (beginning of *Lancelot*); *Hoel de Nantes* in *Li Biaus Desconëus* (kept distinct from *Hoel de Gohenet*); *Hoel* duke or king of Brittany in the *Tristan*; *Hoel le Breton*, *Hoel de Nantes*, *Hoel de Costentin*, *Hoel de Quarahès* (= Carhaix) in numerous *Chansons de geste* (cf. Langlois' *Table*). The corresponding Welsh name was *Hywel*, which could never yield *Hoel* in French.

Reviews of the Marburg edition of the *Lancelot* and of Dr. Griffith's *Sir Perceval* had afforded me the opportunity of offering my opinion concerning the names *Pellinor*, *Pellehan* and *Pelles* given to Perceval's father in the *Galaad Grail cycle* (*Zeitschr. f. frz. Spr.*, 40,2, p. 45-49; 44,2, p. 143-4). In an earlier review (*Zeitschr.*, 31,2, p. 127, n. 5) I suggested how it was that Gerbert called Perceval's father *Gales li Caus*. The author of the English *Perceval* simply transferred the hero's name to his father.

I shall now attempt to explain the only remaining name bestowed on Perceval's father, *Bliocadran*. It is recorded in one text only. Two MSS. of the Grail

romance in verse (Mons and Brit. Mus. 36614) and the prose of 1530, all of them containing besides Chrétien's romance the continuations by Wauchier and Manessier, have a « prologue », known by the name of « Bliocadran prologue ». It was published from the Mons MS. in Potvin's edition of the whole compilation and separately by the same editor in Ebert's *Jahrbuch für roman. u. engl. Lit.*, vol. V (1864). It is a fragment of an otherwise lost Perceval romance that was used to fill up what was supposed to be a gap in Chrétien's romance. A priori nothing can be said about the absolute or relative age of the lost romance. Miss J. L. Weston (*loc. cit.* p. 71-75, 95-101) holds that the romance of which the Bliocadran prologue was the beginning, was the source of Chrétien's and Kiot's poems. The independence of the prologue with regard to Chrétien is supported with cogent reasons : but the exact relation of the texts is still uncertain.

In the Bliocadran prologue the name of the hero's father is given as *Bliocadran*, which was not in contradiction with the rest of the long poem, since, curiously enough, the name of the hero's father is not mentioned anywhere else, either by Chrétien or by Wauchier or by Manessier. Even though we should attribute a relatively early age to the lost poem, this would not permit us to assert the primitive character of Bliocadran as the name of the hero's father.

Bliocadrans was no doubt originally a double name, like *Gorvains Cadruz* (*Meraugis*), *Mabon Evrain* (> *Mabonagrain*, cf. Philipot, in *Rom.*, XXV), *Illesgalerons* (*Suite Merlin* BN. 337 : cf. *Illes* and *Galeron* used separately in the romance of Gautier d'Arras, where Galeron has been made a feminine name ; it is still a man's name in an English poem), *Blihos Bliheris*. The latter name, in which also *e*' s occur instead of the first and the second *i*, is still written in two words in

the *Elucidation* (v. 162) and in the best MS. of *Erec* (v. 1714) (that may represent Chrétien's spelling) but is usually contracted to one word which then generally loses the *s* of the first component : *Blioblieris*. Similarly *Bliocadrans* is no doubt a contraction of *Blios Cadrans*, and has the first component in common with *Blios Bliheris*, the second component of which is the well known name *Bleheris* = Welsh *Bledri*.

Miss Weston's view (*Sir Perceval*, I, 289) that *Blihos Bliheris* stands for *Blihis*[1] *Bliheris* (she speaks of « the softening of *s* into *o* before the second *b* »), is phonetically altogether impossible, as I showed in my review of her Sir Perceval (*Zs. f. frz. Spr.*, 31,2, p. 153-4), and it would not be mentioned by me here once more, if Miss Weston did not still cling to it in her recent work *From Ritual to Romance*, p. 190. As I showed (ibid.), the name Blios occurs also by itself.

There is a knight named Blios (Nom and Obl.), mentioned in the *Suite Merlin* BN. 337 (Dr. Sommer's edition p. 188 ff, Freymond's summary in *Zs. f. frz. Spr.*, XVII, § 159), as a jealous lover of the lady Seneheut in a story of which Sagremor is the hero.

There is also an Arthurian knight mentioned in the Vulgate *Suite Merlin*, whose name seems to have been *Blios*. The name occurs in Dr. Sommer's MS. (edition p. 103, 148, 453) in three different forms : *Drulios de la Case*, *Blois del Casset*, *Blyos de Cassel*. P. Paris who used a better MS., gives the forms *Bliois du Chastel* (*R. T. R.*, II, 144), *Bliois* (p. 145), *Blios de Casel* (p. 365). MS. BN. 337 has the forms *Bibliors de Casel*, *Blios de la Case* (cf. Dr. Sommer's Index to *the Vulgate Version*, p. 15, the forms marked with asterisks).

1. *Blihis*, used in the *Elucidation* as name of the author, *Bleheris*, is simply *Bliheris* which has lost the *er* abbreviation that in the MSS. is similar to an apostrophe placed above the following letter and liable to be overlooked.

The Dutch version has *Blios van den Kase* (v. 12485), *Bliot* (17918) (lacking on p. 396), Arthour and Merlin *Drukius* (< *Drulios?*) (v. 3600), *Bliobel* (v. 5445), Lovelich's Merlin *Blyes de la Kasse* (v. 9469), *Bloys of Casel* (v. 14361), Wheatley's English Prose *Blyos de la Casse* (p. 135), *Blios* (p. 136), *Blois del Casset* (p. 212), *Blioc de Cassell* (p. 682).

The same romance mentions in one passage[1] a knight who supports Carados, one of the rebel kings, in his fight against the *Saisnes*. He is called *Brios* (Nom.) *del Plastre* in Dr. Sommer's MS. (edition p. 295/36), *Bliot* (Obl.) *du Plessié* in another MS., quoted by Dr. Sommer (ibid., n. 2) and *Bloys of Plaisshie* in Wheatley's English Prose (p. 442); MS. BN. 337 calls him *Brinos du Plessié* (cf. Dr. Sommer's Index, p. 17). The knight also makes his appearance in one passage of the *Suite Merlin* peculiar to this MS., and is again called *Brinos du Plaissié* (p. 38/11); he is taking part in the battle of Vandeberes and fighting on Arthur's side. With our present knowledge of MSS., we cannot determine whether *l* or *r* is more primitive in this name. There existed a Breton name *Brioc* (cf. J. Loth, *Les noms des saints bretons*, 1910, p. 16). We also find the change of *r* into *l* in *Blians* < *Brians* in *Perlesvaus*, p. 252; however the change is no doubt not a phonetical one, but due to a confusion of names (cf. *Bliant*, in *Lancelot*, III, 394 ff), and in the same way we have to explain *Brios* > *Blios* or *Blios* > *Brios*. As a name *Brioc* existed, there would not be sufficient ground for assumig that *Brios* (Obl. *Briol*), *Briot de la Foriest Arsee* who occurs in Wauchier's *Grail* (v. 28633 etc.) was once *Blios*.

1. Omitted in P. Paris, *R. T. R.*, II, 231, and in the Dutch version, p. 303, not contained in the preserved portion of *Arthour and Merlin* and in the published portion of Lovelich.

On the other hand a leader of a division of king Leodegan's army in the battle against King Rion in the Vulgate *Suite Merlin*, called in Dr. Sommer's MS. *Blyas li sires de Bleodas un mervelleus chastel* (edition p. 218) is likely to have been originally called *Blios*. At least we find in the print of 1498 *Blyos sire du chastel Claudas*. In the Dutch version (v. 22710) he is Called *Belias* [1], in Arthour and Merlin (v. 8703) *Blias, lord of Bliodas*, in Wheatley's English Prose (p. 321) *Blios the lord of Cloadas*. Curiously enough, P. Paris (*R. T. R.*, II, p. 190) here gives a form with *r* : *Brios ou Brieus, sire du merveilleux château de Claudas*. The MS. BN. 337 calls him *Blios* (*li sires*) *de Candaf* both here (cf. Dr. Sommer's Index, p. 15) and in the portion peculiar to this MS (p. 38). *Blyas* (which, in its turn, may stand for *Blians*, Nom. to *Bliant* cf. supra), may have been confused with the name *Blios* and the latter in its turn with *Brios*. However *Blios-Blyas de Bleodas-Bliodas* may also be explained as a corruption of *Blidoblidas*, a name the bearer of which appears in *Meriaduec*, v. 2610, as one of Arthur's knights, with the attribute *li fils le roi de Galoce* (=Galloway). This personage is no doubt identical with *Midomidas fiex le roi Lot de Galoee* of *Rigomer*, v. 15514 f (15636, 15902: *Midomidas*) and with *Maudamadas de Galoee* of Gerbert's *Grail* (*Tristan Ménestrel*, ed. Bédier and J. L. Weston, in *Rom.*, 35, v. 697 ; ed. Williams, v. 4005).

The name *Bleos von Bliriers* in Türlin's *Krone* (v. 2304) is merely a corruption of *Bleos Bliheris* (=Chrétien's *Erec*, v. 1714).

The name *Bleos* or *Blios* (Obliquus *Blioc*, *Bliot*) [2]

1. *Belias* which here stands for *Blias* is a different name that is frequently to be met with.

2. Probably *eo* is older than *io*, just as in French *leon-lion*. The Obliquus *Bliot* may stand for *Blioc* ; for we have never met with Nom. *Bliot*.

is no doubt of Celtic origin. In the old Breton glosses of the *Collatio Canonum* in the MS. of Orléans (10-11th century according to M. J. Loth, *Vocabulaire Vieux-Breton*, 1884, p. IX) we find *bleoc* as gloss to *criniti* and the plural *bleocion* as gloss to *pilos(s)os*. This adjective is in Cornish *bleuak*, in modern Welsh *bleuog;* the word from which it was derived is in new Breton *blio* « hair » (cf. J. Loth, *loc. cit.*, p. 55). In the *Cartulaire de Landévennec* (11th century) a certain *Pistient* has the surname *Blehuc* (p. 31), which M. J. Loth translates with *chevelu* (cf. *Chrestomathie bretonne*, p. 110). In the *Cartulaire de Quimper* the adjective occurs in a topographical name: *Ker an bleuhoc* and *Ker an bleuhec* (now *Ker an blevec*) (cf. Loth, *Chrestomathie*, p. 191, where the adjective is again rendered by *chevelu*). We may derive *Blio(s)* — *cadran(s)* either from *Blios* + *Cadrans* or from *Blioc* + *Cadran.*

The second component of this compound was to my mind the name *Cadroain*. The difference is merely the loss of *o* before the stressed syllable and the substitution of a slightly different « suffix ». It is not uncommon to find variants of proper names ending both in *-an* and *-ain*. Moreover names in *-ain* of Celtic origin are usually derived from Celtic names ending in *-en*; which could also be preserved or produce the dialectic variant *-an*. It may suffice here to refer to the Breton name *Donwallen* (older form *Donwallon*; the shorter form, without suffix, was *Donval*, in 1116, modern-Breton *Denoual*, cf. J. Loth, *Chrèstomathie bretonne*, p. 202, 171), which occurs in Berol's *Tristan* as *Denoalen*, *Donolen*, *Denoalent*, *Donoalent*, as *Denoalan*, *Dinoalan*, *Doalan* and as *Denaalain*, *Danalain*. These various readings may exemplify at the same time the loss of *o*. No doubt the first step was the assimilation of the *o* to the following *a* (cf. *Denaalain*) ;

the contraction of *aa* with the loss of a syllable was a normal change after a certain period, and is frequent in MSS. of the 13th century (cf. *Zs. f. frz Spr.*, 1913, 2, p. 246), and it may be earlier [1]. In the Berol MS. (13th century) the contraction is due to the scribe. In the Bliocadran prologue it is postulated by the metre; but as the MSS. that contain it are not older than the end of the 13th century, the version preserved to us may very well be a *remaniement* of the primitive text. It is clear that of all the contractions those of two equal vowels must have been the earliest.

I can produce some more instances of proper names of Celtic origin, in which *o* was assimilated or lost under the same circumstances. The topographical name *Tabroan* that Raoul uses in the *Venjance Raguidel*, v. 5209, occurs again in the same author's *Meraugis*, v. 1729, as *Tabroan*, *Cabrahan*, *Sabraan*, showing the change of *oa* into *aa*; the reverse (*aa*>*oa*) could not be accounted for.

In the *Suite Merlin* BN. 337 there occurs a king called *Aua(u)doan* (to be read *Avadoan*) *des Illes*, localized in Galehout's domain, therefore in Scotland (p. 9/43, 10/4 [here variant: *Areadoan*], 27/22, 145/37). The author of this text found him in the Vulgate *Suite Merlin*, where MS. BN. 337 has *Avadoan* (cf. Dr. Sommer's Index to *Vulgate Version*, p. 11). The name has been omitted in Dr. Sommer's MS. in the corresponding passage (edition, p. 125); but it is in P. Paris, *R. T. R.*, II, p. 129 : *Amadorian* (<*Aua-*

1. In Thomas' *Tristan*, v. 2120, we find, assured by the metre as dissylabic, *Breri*, a form which may be directly derived from Welsh *Bledri*, but is rather a contraction of *Bleheri*, the form used in all the other texts, that have this name, in Wauchier (cf. J. L. Weston, *Perceval*, I, 288, and 13945, 13954), Eilhart's *Pleherin*, and in the compound *Blio(s)bleheris-Blio(s)blieris*, so frequently mentioned in the texts.

douan), in the print of 1498 (fol. 109 d) : *Auadoan*, in Arthour and Merlin, v. 4306 : *Adameins* (<**Amadains* <*Auadoains* ?); in Lovelich, v. 11903, *Amadonan* (<*Auadouan*); in Wheatley's English Prose, p. 173, *Anadonain* (<*Auadoain*); in the Dutch version, v. 15647, *Nodoamin*(*e*) (<**Amodonain* <**Amadouain* <*Auadouain* ?). This king occurs moreover in two other passages of this romance, in Dr. Sommer's edition, p. 395/30, 400/16, where the reading of the MS. is *Euadain*; MS. Harley has *Evadam* (cf. Dr. Sommer's note, p. 395). I cannot give other readings of this passage, as in the other texts just mentioned the name is either lacking or the passage not accessible to me. As I remarked in *Zs. f. frz. Spr.*, 28, p. 55, I think that originally another personage may have been identical with this king, viz. the son of King Brangoire of Estrangorre, who appears towards the end of the Vulgate *Suite Merlin*, changed by magic into a dwarf. He is called *Euadeam* in Dr. Sommer's edition, p. 456/28, 464/26, *Anadean* in P. Paris, *R. T. R.*, II, 372, *Auadain*, in Wheatley's English Prose, p. 688, *Evadan* in the Dutch translation, v. 35585, 36106.

Since according to the author of the *Suite Merlin* BN. 337, who plagiarized the *Lancelot* to a great extent, the kingdom of *Auadoan* was the second kingdom that Galehout conquered, it appears possible, even very probable, that this king was identical with a king who in the Lancelot is commander of the third « bataille » of Galehout's army and who is named in Dr. Sommer's edition (I, p. 236/13, 241/16) *li rois del Vadoan*, *li roys de Vadehan*. MS. Lansdowne 757 has *Wadahan* (cf. Dr. Sommer's note). P. Paris calls him *roi de Val d'Oan* (*R. T. R.*, III, 235), the print of 1520 *de Hadeban*. If this identification is correct, we have here an instance of the topographical name becoming a personal name (cf. supra *le roi de Gomeret*> *le roi*

Gahmuret) : *le roi de ua(l)doan*> *le roi eua(u)doan*> *le roi auadoan* (assimilation) [1].

However that may be, the forms quoted give us instances both of the coexistence of forms in *-an* and *-ain* and of the change of *o* to *a* before *a* and its ultimate disappearance : *Vadoan*> *Vadehan* or *Wadahan* ; *Avadoa(i)n*> **Avadea(i)n* (*Anadean, Euadeam*)> *Avadain-Evadain*.

In the Pseudo-Robert *Quest* we meet with a count *Bedoin de la Marche* (Löseth, *Tristan*, § 552). To him corresponds in the Spanish *Demanda* (c. 294 ff) *Bedayn*, *Bedain*, once *Bedan*. The original form of the name was no doubt *Bedoain*.

1. What part of Scotland may have been meant by *ua(u)doan* ? In spite of a phonetical objection it certainly suggests Stirling, which in the Middle Ages was also called *Snawdon*, in French texts *Isneldon*, *Sinaudon* (*Sinandon*) *Sinadon*, *Senaudon* etc. (an *e* not justified by etymology, could be appended to any of these forms). Very probably this name is also at the bottom of *Valdone* [*de(s)naldone*>*de ualdone*] and *Vale(n)don*, as I tried to show in *Zs. f. frz. Spr.*, 44, 2, p. 172-177. There I forgot, however, to mention an important piece of evidence for my thesis that the *Gaste Forest* with the *destroit de Valdone*, where Perceval spent his childhood, was situated near the *Gaste Cité* called *Isneldone* (**Esnaldone*) and that therefore *Valdone* was identical with *Isneldone* : this piece of evidence is the conclusion of Rochat's MS. of Wauchier, which makes Perceval say : « A Sinadon, la fui jo nes Et mes peres, par verité, Alains li gros fu apelé » (Rochat, p. 91). Since *u* and *n* were graphically very much alike, very often indistinguishable, the form *ua(l)doan* or *eua(l)doan* differs from the name of Stirling, *e(s)na(l)don* or *ualdon(e)* only by the presence of an *a* after o. Is this reason enough for giving up the etymology proposed, or may we suppose that **Esnaldon* could be corrupted into **Esnaldoan* (by analogical influences e. g. of *Tabroan* ?). If Stuart Glennie is right in giving the form *Snuadun* as the former name of Stirling, we might assume the following development : *Snuadun*> *Snuaduan* (assimilation) >*Snauduan*> *Esuaudouan* etc. That Stirling-Snaudon was a kingdom in legend, is certain. In the *lai del cor* there is a *roi de Sinadoune*, and in *Li Biaus Desconëus* Sinaudon is also a kingdom.

In *Durmart* a knight is called *Gladoïns* (v. 3716); but usually his name is given in the diminutive form, and the latter is *Gladinel* : v. 3247, 3601, 5299 (*Gladinax* instead of *Gladineax*), 5308. Here the *o* has disappeared. Very probably the original form was not *Gladoïns*, but *Gladoains*. Such a name occurs in *Meraugis*, v. 3418, 3430. By the side of *Glado(u)ains* we there find the variants *Glodoains* and *Glaidoïns*, *Gaadoins* [1]. A knight named *Gladouains* also appears in Wauchier's *Grail* (v. 31362). In the German translation (525/28), where he is called *Gladensch*, *o* has been dropped before *ai*, which became *e*. In *Durmart* a knight, who is distinguished from *Gladoïn*, is called *Gladain* (v. 10283); but originally both seem to have had the same name, *Gladouain* [2]. *Durmart* is a romance composed at the beginning of the 13th century.

Well known is count *Galoain* of Chrétien's *Erec* (v. 3129); he also appears in *Li Biaus Desconëus*, v. 5857. Count *Galans* (variant *Galaus*) *del Ga[u]tdestroit*, who is found in *Durmart* (6659, 7487), first taking part in a tournament, afterwards in another rôle, might be identical with count *Galoain* or at least have had the same name.

No doubt the assumption that the second compound of *Bliocadran* was once *Cadroa(i)n*, meets with no difficulties. It is even possible that a remnant of the *o* we miss in *Bliocadran* has been preserved; for the only case, in which the name of Perceval's father occurs in rhyme, is v. 151 (635), which reads in MS.

1. Cf. also *Cardroïns* in *Durmart*, v. 2341, in all other passages *Cardroains*.

2. It would be an advantage to introduce the latter form in v. 10283 : *Glad[o]ain le vert l'apele on* ; cf. Tobler, *Versbau*, 3rd ed., p. 65, where this verse is quoted as an example of an uncommon elision.

Mons : *A monsignor Blocadroon* (: *maison*) [1]. Unfortunately this form is also corrupt and therefore not quite reliable. Of the first component the *i* is wanting. It might be easily restored by way of emendation, since the preposition *A* (dative) may be eliminated as superfluous. The rhyming vowel, too, is wrong; it ought to be *a* or *ai*. It is however not of rare occurrence that the end of a proper name has to undergo a change for the convenience of rhyme. In the *Atre Perillous* e. g. we find by the side of *Gaumeret : met* (5477) also *Gomeré : faé* (6413) (in the interior of verses *Gomeret*), in Fergus *Soumilloit : pooit* (9/37) by the side of *Soumeillet : varlet* (10/27) [2]. Compare also *Lotaire* and *Lotier*, both in rhyme, in one of the tales of swan-children (ed. Todd; cf. G. Paris, in *Rom.*, 19, p. 318; the author of this tale also used *Patris* and *Patrice*, *Eliox* and *Elioxe;* cf. G. Paris, p. 330, and Todd's note to v. 1564, where the other instances given are wrong). In *Maugis d'Aigremont* we even meet with *Charles de Saint Denie* four times in an *ie*-tirade (p. 291-2 ; *Charles de S. Deniz* in an *is-iz*-tirade, p. 158), and in Wauchier's *Grail*, v. 25538, with *le Biau Mauvai* (: *mentirai*). A number of other instances were quoted by Prof. Friedwagner in his *Venjance Raguidel*, note to v. 5039 and by me in *Zs. f. frz. Spr.*, 39,2

1. The form *Bliocadran(s)* occurs (in the separate edition) v. 26, 145, 161, 180, 186, 194, 205, 214, 219. It would not be possible to introduce a word of 5 syllables in all these cases, without resorting to violent means. *Bliocadran* is also the form used in the print of 1530. Unfortunately the text of the British Museum MS. is not known to me. Postcript: I am told by Miss Weston that the reading of this MS. is usually *Bliocadran(s)*, in v. 151 however *Bliocadron*. This information does not facilitate the solution of the problem.

2. *Oi* cannot yet have sounded *è*, at most *uè*; besides, the rhyme with *varlet* testifies *é*, not *è*; and the etymon *Sumarlidi* is in agreement with it.

p. 175. I cannot see in the form *Blocadroon* anything but such a *Reimopfer, dem Eigennamen ganz besonders ausgesetzt sind* (W. Foersters note to *Aiol*, v. 2436). The preceding *o* may have facilitated the alteration of the rhyming vowel (progressive assimilation).

Having found that Perceval's father may have been called once *Blios Cadroains*, the question suggests itself, whether he may have been identical with a personage called *Cadroains*. *Cadroain* or *Cardroain* appears in two romances, the *Atre Perillous* and *Durmart*[1], in rôles that may be not independent of each other. In both romances he is connected with a sparrow-hawk-adventure; in both he has the surname *le Ro(u)s* (Durmart, v. 2010; Atre, 6433). Now we observed above that the name *Blios* was liable to be changed into *Blois* by scribes. This was popular etymology. Likewise *Blios Cadroains* may have become *Blois Cadroains*[2]; but in such a double name *Blois* would have been understood as an epithet to Cadroains and would have been placed after the latter: *Cadroains li Blois*[3]. *Blois* meant in Old French *blont*[4], and this colour of the hair, after all, was not very different from *ro(us)*[5]. Therefore *li Ro(u)s*, which

1. The variants in *Atre Perillous* are *Cadrouain* and (with retrogressive assimilation) *Codrouain* (the editor wrote *v* instead of *u*). In *Durmart* the form *is Cardroain*, once *Cardroïn*.

2. No doubt this change took place before the two components were fused into one word. The temptation to change e. g. *Bliobleheris* into *Bloibleheris* could not have been great.

3. We meet with this epithet in *Helys (Helins, Helains) li Blois* (Lancelot and Suite Merlin BN. 337, cf. Dr Sommer's Index), *Meliadus li Blois* (Vulgate Suite Merlin, cf. ibid. s. v. *Meleaudon* and *Meliadus*), *Guinas li Blois* (the same text, cf. *ibid.*), *Graciens li Blois* (the same text, cf. *ibid.*), *Hartis le Bloi* (Löseth, *Tristan*, § 395 a).

4. *Helis li Blons* and *Guinas li Blons* occur as variants of *Helys li Blois* and *Guinas li Blois*.

5. In German *rot* is sometimes called *hochblond*. The colour

was an extremely common epithet, may have supplanted *li Blois* [1]. It may also be that the double name *Blios Cadroains* gave rise to two names *Blios* and *Cadroains*, as seems to have been the case with *Illes Galerons* and *Mabons Evrains*. Anyhow it is at least possible that *Cadroains li Ros* had been once called *Blios Cadroains*.

Ca(r)droain le Ros is, according to the romances *Atre Perillous* and *Durmart*, especially the latter, a sort of *chevalier felon*, an enemy of king Arthur and of the protagonist; in *Durmart* he is even the brother of *Brun de Morois*, the abductor of Queen Guenievre. Perceval's father was of course quite a different type. This, however, simply goes to show that the name Bliocadran was not originally the name of Perceval's father. In my contribution to the *Festschrift Morf* I attempted to show that Perceval's father was originally called Alain de Gomeret. Now the name *Ca(r)droain* can also be discovered in an Italian text, *I cantari di Carduino*. The name of the hero of this romance is certainly identical with *Cardroain*. This has been already proposed by G. Paris, *Hist. litt.*, XXX, 187, n. 2), whilst the editor, Prof. P. Rajna, had thought that the name was suggested by *Carduel* or *Caradoc* (p. XIV), which is impossible [2]. The original

blont was very often compared to gold (e. g. Chrétien, *Graïl*, 1787 ff.), but mediaeval persons used to speak of « red « gold.

1. To replace an epithet by a more or less similar one seems to have been frequent. One of the MSS. of *Meraugis* always replaced *Belchis*' attribute, *li Lois*, by *li Lais*, *li Laiz*. In the Vulgate Suite Merlin *Meliadus li Noirs* is a variant of *Meliadus li Blois*; *Meliadus le Blanc* in Löseth's Tristan, § 395, a (*Queste*) was the same person. In the Vulgate Suite Merlin *Graciens* appears as *li Blois* and *li Blans* (cf. Dr Sommer's Index).

2. It is strange that Schofield, though knowing G. Paris' note, gives preference to *Caradoc* as etymon (*Studies on the Li Beaus Desconeus*, p. 185-7 and note).

place of the *r* must be decided by the etymology of the name; but **Cardoain* comes as near to the form *Cardroain* which is that of *Durmart*, as *Cadroain*, the form of the *Atre Perillous*. Thus the only certain corruption is the loss of the *a* of the diphthong; but this change was not rare in proper names.

Above we came across *Bedoïn* from **Bedoain* and *Gladoïn* from *Gladoain;* nay, we even found *Cardroïn* from *Cardroain.* I add to these instances *Cadoïns* in *Erec*, v. 1727 (E), from *Cado(u)ains* (cf. the variant *Cadoruains V* <*Cadrouains*), *Kadoïns*, *Kadoin(er)s* in *Lai del cor*, v. 302, 434, which is proved by the rhyme with *main(er)s* (« hands ») to have been *Kadoins* [1]. Carduino has lost the epithet *li Ros* or *li Blois* which, according to our assumption, was once the first component of a double name, *Blios*. Perhaps the author omitted the epithet on purpose as being unfit for his hero.

Now the romance of Carduino is a representative of the *Biaus Desconëus* type, which is related to the Perceval type. Nay, the Carduino *enfances* are so strikingly similar to the Perceval *enfances* that it is possible that an assimilation to a Perceval romance has been effected. As the Carduino *enfances* present original features unknown to our Perceval romances, we would have to postulate that the Perceval version that influenced Carduino (or its French source) is lost; but it seems to have been more closely related to the Bliocadran version than to any other. However, we are free to admit that the Carduino *enfances* were derived from a romance, the hero of which was not, or not

1. Not *Cadains,* as the editor, Fredrik Wulff, emended ; which obliged him to introduce a syllable into each verse ; besides a name *Cadain* is unknown, whilst *Cadoain* existed (cf. *Lancelot*, ed. Sommer, I, p. 159, 228, 275).

yet, called Perceval. If the character and rôle of Ca(r)-droain in *Durmart* and *Atre Perillous* are not altogether factitious, but more or less primitive, we cannot admit the hero of a romance of the *Biaus Desconëus* or Perceval type to have been called Cardroain. If Carduino corresponds to Bliocadran, the name ought to be not that of the hero, but that of the hero's father. The hero's father is called in the Italian romance *Dondinello* (I, st. 29, II, st. 70). This is, as the editor saw, the Arthurian name *Dodinel* [1]. This name, that occurs in a great many Arthurian romances, is always accompanied by the characteristic epithet *li Sauvages*. Only in the Italian romance there is no epithet. It would have been altogether out of place, absurd or at least incomprehensible. Surely if an author makes a hero of the *Biaus Desconëus* type the son of a « *savage* », he was bound to justify this [2]; but in Carduino Dondinello is called *un baron ch'era molto cortese* (I, 4). It is likely that the author omitted the epithet *li Sauvages* because he found it out of place in the rôle of the hero's father, just as he omitted the epithet *li Ros* or *li Blois*, because there was nothing in the tale to justify it. We may therefore consider it possible that both the name of the hero and that of the hero's father in the Italian poem were inappropriate. Would not an inter-

1. *Dondinello* (with *n* before *d*) also in other Italian texts (cf. Rajna, p. xx, n.).

2. Schofield remarks (p. 185, n. 3) : » Possibly the surname of Dodinel, *le Sauvage*, may have had something to do with his being made the father of Carduino ». Why, then, did the author omit just this surname ? Nor would Schofield's assertion that the author borrowed Dodinel from the Prose Tristan agree with that assumption. That assertion, however, is also unjustified, since Dodinel's rôles in *Carduino* and *Tristan* have nothing in common : what Schofield mentions, is indeed as much as nothing.

change of the names of father and son improve the situation? Carduino might be the hero's father with the same right as Bliocadran is Perceval's father. To the supposed identity of names there would come a parallelism of rôles. The question is only : Would *Dodinel le Sauvage* be a suitable name for the hero?

In French Arthurian literature *Dodinel* [1] is a mere *figurant*, a knight of the Round Table without a rôle, well known and always provided with the characteristic epithet *le Sauvage* that postulated an explanation, which, however, is nowhere given [2]. This fact alone seems to me sufficient to postulate the existence of a Dodinel romance. The only romance besides Carduino in which Dodinel has a characteristic rôle somewhat agreeing with his epithet is the *Lanzelet* of Ulrich von Zatzikhoven. *Dodines der wilde mit den breiten handen* (7098-99) (the latter epithet is unexplaned here and not found elsewhere) is here king Arthur's guide across the *Schriende Mos* to the castle of the enchanter Malduck. He is the owner of a magic horse on which he can ride without danger across this enchanted marsh and has a castle in the « Mos ». Here he seems to dwell during summer, whilst, curiously enough, in winter he is *bi Artuses massenie* (7093). This double nature of Dodinel (knight of the Round Table and enchanter in the wilderness) cannot be primitive and seems to

1. Concerning him cf. Huet, in *Rom.*, 43 (1914), p. 97-99.

2. Except in a late text, the Vulgate Merlin continuation (Sommer, p. 171); this portion of the texts is not in all MSS. and translations) : Dodinel, a youth of 14, is the son of king *Belinant* of *Sorgales* and of *Eglente, fille au roy Machen de l'Ile Perdue. Si l'apeloit on par son droit non Dodynel le Sauvage, et ce por coi il fut appelé Dodynel* (confirmed by the English Prose; but we ought to have *li Salvages*) *vous dirai jou : Ce fu por ce qu'il ne queroit fors berser as pors et as cers et as dains par ches forès grans et salvages, et por che qu'il y hantoit si volentiers, li douna on non Dodinel le Salvage.* This explanation is factitious.

suggest the assumption that the knight of the Round Table owed merely to his epithet *li Sauvages* the honour of being invested with the rôle of a wild man and enchanter; but I grant that this rôle might be considered as primitive, and the epithet *mit den breiten handen* may speak in favour of this view. In the *Chantari di Lancelloto*, a *Mort Artu* version, *Dudinello*, *Chieso* (= Keus) and *Mordirette* are represented as traitors hostile to Lancelot (ed. Gray Birch, p. 2, 20). It is not clear how Dodinel got this odious rôle. According to Prof. J. D. Bruce (*Romanic Review*, IV, 436) the *Chantari* would have had no other source but the Vulgate *Mort Artu*. In the latter text the three traitors were *Agravain*, *Guerrehet* and *Mordret* (ed. Bruce, p. 102).

Dodinel's epithet could certainly be explained also, if he as hero of a romance had had similar *enfances* as Perceval who grew up as the companion of wild beasts in the *gaste foriest sans fin* (thus in Bliocadran prologue, v. 677), where a person could ride for 12 days without seeing *nule rien se foriest non* (ibid., v. 675). The hero of the Italian romance actually had *enfances* of this sort; he, too, grew up in a *selva grande* (I, 6), and *colle bestie si stava notte e dia*, so that he *non crede sia altro che costoro* (I, 8), and he was so *tutto piloso*, that *a vedere parea un* uon selvagio (I, 16). Here then we have the very epithet of Dodinel.

We find it once more in another *Biaus Desconeus* version (the hero is Gauvain's son like Guiglain-Wigalois), (that in its *enfances* like the Carduino poem reminds us very much of the Perceval type and has been preserved in a fragmentary condition in Wauchier's *Grail* continuation. In Potvin's edition we read of the hero : *En la cambre a l'ome sauvages S'en entroit et moult estoit biaus* (v. 2060 f); but this reading is evidently corrupt. Miss J. L. Weston communicated a better reading, that of MS. BN. 12576) : *En la chambre*

(King Arthur's hall) *com homs sauvages se pourfichoit; qu'il ert trop biaus* (Sir Perceval, I, p. 244-45); and the German version is : *In die kamere als ein wilde man barg er sich, doch*[1] *er schoene waz* (281/5-6).

Thus Dodinel's epithet would be very fit for the hero of the Italian romance. How about the name Dodinel itself? This name seems to have had originally also the character of an epithet or surname. So we have to see whether its meaning would have suited the hero of the Italian romance. The name was a diminutive in *-el* or was at least considered as such in French ; i. e. it was, or was at least interpreted as, a French word. Both in the oldest and in the most archaic romance, i. e. in Chrétien's *Erec* and in Wauchier's *Grail* (representing Bleheri) we find the name without the suffix *el* in the only passages in which it occurs. It is true that Foerster's text of Erec has v. 1700 : *Nuemes Dodiniaus li Sauvages;* but this is wrong for no less than three potent reasons : 1) In two of the oldest and best MSS., C and P, the verse is : *Li noemes Dodins li Sauvages*; according to his own genealogical table (which is however not quite reliable) and his own principles of criticism the editor ought to have given preference to this reading ; 2) *Li* is assured because the 8 preceding ordinal numbers, i. e. all the rest, have also *li* ; 3) *Dodins* is the *versio difficilior*; scribes might be tempted to introduce the ordinary form *Dodiniaus*, not vice versa. Wauchier has *Dodins li Sauvages*, v. 31380, according to MS. Mons. The readings of the other MSS. are unknown. It is quite possible that certain scribes have introduced *Dodiniaus*. The German translation indeed has *Dodinias* (526/4) ; but here again the *versio difficilior* must be that of the original.

1. « Doch » is appropriate ; for handsome is usually in contradiction to savage.

Godefroy's dictionary gives *dodin* in the sense of *trompeur*; but this was no doubt neither the only, nor the primitive meaning of the adjective. Prof. Meyer-Lübke (Zs. f. frz. Spr., 44, p. 169) says, in attempting to explain the name *Dodinel le Sauvage* : « daher wird man auch in *Dodinel*, das kein britannischer Name ist, ebenfalls ein zu *Sauvage* in bestimmtem Bedeutungsverhältnis stehendes Adjektivum zu sehen haben. *Sauvage* bedeutet ' wild, roh, grob ', also wohl auch ' gewalttätig ', bezieht sich also mehr auf äusserliche, physische Eigenschaften, *dodinel* zu *dodin*, das mit *buisnart* verbunden erscheint, wäre demnach ' gerieben ' ». *Dodin* itself may be a diminutive in *-in*, derived from a theme *dod*. Prof. W. Meyer-Lübke mentions in his *Roman. Etymolog. Wörterbuch dod* as « Lallwort » (onomatopoetic) and derives from it French *dodiner*, *dodeliner* « schaukeln », *dorloter* « verzärteln » and Portuguese *doido* « närrisch ». I think that the Portuguese meaning was also the original meaning of Old French *dodin*. *Lallend* is « närrisch », foolish [1]. Such a meaning would be an appropriate surname of the hero of a romance such as *Perceval, Carduino*,

1. An Old French derivative of *dod*, formed with the Low-German double diminutive suffix *akin*, *ekin* and therefore no doubt originating in the Wallon domain, is *dodekin*, *dodequin*. We meet with it in some crusade epics of Wallon origin (*Jerusalem*, *le Bastard de Bouillon*, *Baudouin de Sebourc*) as the epithet of *Huon de Tabarie* (cf. Langlois, *Table des noms*). It was, according to Langlois, the real name of this Saracen before his conversion. In *Fouques de Candie*, a *chanson* that was not composed by a Wallon, but has Oriental matter in common with the crusade epics, a « Turk » is called *Dodecin* (cf. Langlois). I suppose that the idea was, to designate a Saracen by *dodequin*, because for Frenchspeaking persons he was « lallend ». There are analogues of denominating in this way men of foreign speech. In the *Chanson Godefroid de Bouillon* a Saracen bears the name *Dodinax* (read *Dodin*[*i*]*ax*?) (ed. Hippeau, II, v. 4225). *Dodinel* is here probably a synonym of *Dodequin*.

Li Biaus Desconeüs; for a characteristic feature of his, the consequence of his being a *sauvage*, was that he was *nice*, *sot*, *fol*, *tumb*. This feature is very conspicuous in *Carduino* and in the fragmentary *Biaus Desconeüs* version preserved by Wauchier. In the latter we find by chance a definite testimony of the meaning of *dodin*, *dodinel*. Its hero is called *Lionel*[1]. Now the German translation or its French source, the reading of which cannot possibly be right in contradiction to all the other MSS., calls the hero *Dodinel*. What instigated the scribe to this alteration or confusion, was no doubt the outward similarity of the names *Lionel* and *Dodinel*, the fact that Lionel was described as *homs sauvages* (cf. the passage quoted above), whilst Dodinel bore the epithet *li Sauvages* and — last, not least — the fact that Lionel behaved so foolishly in speech and action (cf. 20397 : *des soties qu'il disoit*), that he could be called a *dodinel*, i. e. a young fool. In fact, the translator adds this explanation for the benefit of his German readers whom he could not expect to grasp the meaning of *Dodinel* : *Do wart er geheissen Dodinas*[2]; *Daz giht in tüsch törlin* (281/7-8). Thus *Dodinel* must have been originally a nickname, just as *Percevaus* (cf. *Zs. f. frz. Spr.*, 44[2], p. 170 ff) and *Lionel* (which in Wauchier is meant to be one).

We saw now that both the names *Dodinel* and *le Sauvage* would be very much in harmony with the rôle of the hero of the Italian poem, whilst they are out of place as names of the hero's father. Thus the assumption, that the names of father and son are inter-

1. Miss J. L. Weston's interpretation of the passage in which the name occurs (*Sir Perceval*, I, p. 244-45) is inadmissible, as I shall show on another occasion.

2. The equivalent in the prose of 1530 is : *Dont depuis fu Lyon(c)el appelé.*

changed, commends itself. The source of the Italian poem then may have been the lost Dodinel romance.

Why might names have been interchanged? intentionally or owing to confusion? Either is possible. It would probably be difficult to ascertain what the intention was, but there are more or less analogous cases. In my *Alain de Gomeret* I showed that Moriaen-Feirefiz was originally Perceval's son, then Feirefiz became Perceval's brother and Moriaen the son of Agloval, Perceval's brother (p. 13 ff). Confusion was possible, if in the source of *Carduino* the names of father and son were rarely mentioned. Now in the Italian poem itself the name of the father occurs only twice. If in the source the son was a *Desconëus*, as he certainly once was, his name may have been mentioned only once, at the place towards the end where he himself is told it (cf. the romances *Guinglain*, *Meriaduec*).

If Cardoain was originally Dodinel's father, his rôle was parallel to that of his namesake Bliocadran, Perceval's father. On the other hand we have *Ca(r)droain le Ros* of *Durmart* and *Atre Perillous* with an altogether different rôle and character. The *Atre Perillous* is likely to have borrowed the personage from *Durmart*, the older of the two romances (cf. *Alain de Gomeret*, p. 18). Thus we may confine our attention to the latter. We would not be able to explain Cardroain's occurrence in *Durmart*, as a loan from a Perceval or Dodinel romance; but I think that it is possible to explain, how the name of Blios Cadroains was introduced into a Perceval or Dodinel romance from a romance in which he had a rôle similar to that of *Cardroain le Ros* in *Durmart*. An important and primitive element in the Perceval story is that the hero's duty was vengeance [1].

(1) The romance of Carduino comes in this respect nearer to the original than the Bliocadran prologue.

No doubt originally the enemy laid hold on the territory of his victim, the possession of which may have been the object of the murder. The widow with her little son had to leave the country or to withdraw into some relatively safe place. The enemy of the hero's father was of course represented as a typical *chevalier felon*. In the *Perlesvaus*, a Perceval romance that, in spite of enormous additions, has preserved also primitive matter (e. g. the original name of Perceval's father, Alain), the enemy and usurper is called *li sire des Mores* (without a personal name). Now in *Durmart* Cardroain le Ros is the brother of Brun de Morois, and the latter is once called the nephew of *le roi des Mores* (8027). Cardroain's home is not mentioned, but it may also have been *Morois* or *les Mores*. These regions as well as *Moreines* (< *Moraine*), from which Aristot hails (who in the *Perlesvaus* is the cousin of the *seigneur des Mores* and after the latter's death continues his rôle as usurper and enemy of Perceval's family) were probably identical, namely the district of *More(i)f-Moravia* in Scotland (cf. *Zs. f. frz. Spr.*, 28, p. 63; 44, 2, p. 179 ff.)[1]. It is the wilderness, in which Tristan and Iseut sought refuge after their escape from the stake (cf. F. Lot, in *Rom.*, 25, p. 17 f.), suitable as being the home of the abductor of queen Guenievre who corresponded to Hades, the abductor of Persephone (cf. G. Paris, in *Rom.*, XII). Now if Cardroain [2] hailed from *les Mores*, his name might have been given to the unnamed *seigneur des Mores* who was the enemy (murderer) of Perceval's father and the usurper of his dominions; he or his relative may even have been Cardroain. Could not

1. Concerning the rôle of Scotland in the Perceval legend, cf. *Zs. f. frz. Spr.*, 44, 2, p. 173 ff. and supra.

2. He and his brother Brun may have been originally one person, like Mabon and Evrain in *Li Biaus Desconëus*. cf. Philipot, *Rom.*, 25, p. 275 ff; G. Paris, *Hist. litt*, XXX., p. 190.

then the name of the enemy have been transferred by confusion to that of Perceval's father, since they were owners of the same dominions, the one as rightful proprietor, the other as usurper? Thus we have at least one way to explain how Perceval's father came to be called Bliocadran.

I have shown above that the first component, *Blios*, was a Celtic word. The second component is also of Celtic origin. *Ca(r)d(r)oain* might be explained as a slight corruption of *Cadoain*, a name which we have found in the Prose *Lancelot* and the *Lai del Cor* (it may also be Geoffrey's *Cadvanus*) and which seems to have been composed of two terms frequently used in the composition of names: *cat*, *cad* (= combat) and *win*, *wen* (white, happy) (cf. J. Loth, *Chrestomathie*, p. 115, 175). The introduction of *r* would have to be explained by the influence of the topographical names beginning with *car* (of which many are used in the Arthurian romances) [1]. It may, however, be preferable to assume as first term not *cad*, but *cadr*, which in Old Welsh meant « strong, handsome », in Breton « handsome », and which occurs in the name of a Breton saint *Cadroc* (cf. J. Loth, *Vocabulaire vieux breton*, p. 62; *Les noms des saints bretons*, 1910, p. 17). The suffix Breton *oc*, *uec*, *uc*, *ec*, Welsh *awc* was used to abridge names composed of two terms, of which the second was omitted (e. g. *Budoc* = *Budmonoc*, *Budrith*, *Budweten* etc.; cf. e. g. H. Zimmer in *Zs. f. frz. Spr.*, XIII, p. 48) [2]. Thus *Cadroc* seems to presuppose names of which the first term was *cadr*, such as *Cadr-win* postlated by *Cadroain* [3]. I cannot discover this name in old

1. *Karmeloet* (= *Camelot*) in the Dutch *Lancelot* certainly owes its *r* to this influence; but it is itself a topographical name.

2. The name *Cadroc*, *Cadruc*, has become in Meraugis *Cadrut* (cf. *Nut*, *Nuc* etc., etc.), which is the second name of *Gorvain*.

3. The shifting and doubling of *r* has plenty of analogues. If

charters; but this does not prove that it did not exist, especially if it was a mythical name, the name of a ruler of a Celtic Hades. All the three adjectives, *cadr*, *win* and *bleoc*[1] would be appropriate to such a personage. In Welsh mythology « the king of the fairies and the Other World and the huntsman who fetches to his abode the souls of the deceased, is also named *Gwyn*, i. e. White » (cf. J. Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 84, 179 and J. Loth, *Mab.*, 2nd ed., I. p. 314); white however was brilliant, beautiful. Strength is the most natural attribute of the God of Death. *Bleoc* might be a sign of beauty or of ugliness; *crinitus* (*chevelu*) seems to have been the more usual meaning than *pilosus*. The handsomest of Greek Gods, Apollo, is called crinitus (Vergil) and represented as such in art. Of the Old Irish Prof. Joyce says : « Both men and women wore the hair long, and commonly flowing down on the back and shoulders » (*A social history of ancient Ireland*, 2nd ed., 1913, vol II, p. 177 ff). Their hair was often plaited like Keu's hair in the Arthurian romances : *N'ot plus bel chevalier el mont E fu treciés a une tresce* (Chrétien's *Grail*, 2760 f.).

Atre Perillous borrowed the name *Cadroain* from *Durmart*, it must have used a MS. in which the *r* was not yet doubled.

1. Postcript. I notice that Zimmer has already explained *Bliobleheri* as « ein Wolf (*bleiz*)-könig (*ri*) an Ilaar (*bleo*). » (Zs. f. frz. Spr., XIII, 6 A.). For this name and personage I refer to my recent paper « Der Dichter Bledri-Bleheri-Breri » (*Zs. f. frz. Spr.*, 47, 1924).

MALORY'S BOOK OF BALIN

LAURA A. HIBBARD

Malory's version of the story of Balin is short, powerful, and complete. For some inexplicable reason it has aroused more interest among poets than among scholars, and not until 1918 was it made the subject of an extensive investigation. *Die Balen-Dichtungen und ihre Quellen* by Dr. Ella Vetterman (*Beihefte zur Zeitsch. f. rom. Phil.*, LX, Halle) is indubitably a work of importance, worthy of much more attention from Arthurian scholars than it has received [1]. Chapter I sets forth the known versions of the Balin story; chapters II and III analyze in detail the poetic versions of Tennyson (1885) and of Swinburne (1896); chapters

1. Reviewed by R. Zenker, *Archiv. f. das Studium d. neueren Sprachen*, CXLI, 150 ff. (1921), a reference pointed out to me by Prof. J. D. Bruce. See also for other dissertations on the Balin story J. Bausenwein, *Die poet. Bearbeitungen der Balin von Tennyson und Swinburne und ihr Verhältnis zu Malory*, 1914; J. Hoops, *Swinburne's Tale of Balin and Malory's Mort d'Arthur*, Festsch. z. XVI Neuphilologentag in Bremen, Heidelberg, 1914.

IV and V deal with Malory's version and his source material in the Huth *Merlin* (*Merl.*, ed. Paris and Ulrich, SATF., 1886); chapters VI, VII and VIII with the Spanish versions in *La Demanda del sancto Grial,* 1515, (*Libros de Caballerias,* VI, ed. A. Bonilla y San Martin, Madrid, 1907) and in *El Baladro del Sabio Merlin con sus profecias*, Burgos, 1498, and the summarizing of results gained from the preceding chapters; chapter VIII takes up the question of origin and of Celtic and French elements; chapter IX the work of the original author of the story, and chapter X its place among the Grail romances.

The purpose of the present study is to discuss Dr. Vettermann's chapter on Malory as a means of directing attention not only to the exact relationship of Malory's version to its source, but to the perpetual problem of Malory's style and originality. Though it has long been such a commonplace of English criticism to acknowledge the charm of Malory's style, especially in the later books, the Tennysonian concept of Malory's essential artlessness is met with surprising frequency. « Quaint », « simple », « naive », « childishly ingenuous », are terms found in even most sympathetic comments on Malory. As regards the Balin story in Malory, the divergence of critical opinion may be suggested by quotations from two recent writers. The first passage is from Dr. Vettermann's book (1918), and the second from Professor V. D. Scudder's, *Le Morte Darthur of Sir Thomas Malory and Its Sources*, (N. Y. 1917).

« Die englische Übersetzung unterscheidet sich von der französischen Quelle durch zahlreiche, aber meist unbedeutende sachliche Abweichungen (Ergänzungen, Änderungen und Kürzungen), durch weniger gute Charakterisierungen und Motivierung, durch das Fehlen des tragischen Grundzuges, durch den ungemein trockenen Stil. » (p. 84).

« From the point of view of romantic art, this book, (of Balin) is one of the finest in Malory. — Balin is the first of Malory's strong character studies ; a tragic figure, always entirely noble in purpose, always doing the wrong thing. — Balin is « fey ». — The scenes, the words, have the same unforgetable quality of weird horror that pervades Browning's Childe Roland », (Scudder, p. 197-198).

Mysterious indeed is the human reaction from the same printed page ! Professor Scudder writes in the large manner, interpreting the general effect of Malory's work; Dr. Vetterman, with scrupulous care, weighs detail by detail, in the main following the criticisms thrown off by Sommer in his study of the Sources of Malory, (*Mallory*, London, 1891, III, 70-97) [1]. Both she and Sommer are agreed that to all intents and purposes the unique thirteenth century Huth MS. represents Malory's immediate source [2], and both proceed on the assump-

1. Sommer (p. 79) remarks : « On the whole Malory faithfully reproduces the account given in the « Suite » (ie. the Huth MS.) Now and then he alters slightly, and frequently shortens the French text. — Sometimes, but comparatively rarely, the English is a literal translation of the French text. — Malory dealt with his text more freely than sagaciously, often reproducing events of secondary importance, and, on the other hand, omitting important facts, thereby often rendering his text obscure. » The injustice of these remarks will, it is hoped, be made plain in the course of this study.

2. Except for Malory's omissions, the two texts present precisely the same narrative. In many cases Malory literally translates his original. Dr. Vettermann devotes three pages (67-70) to a list of whole sentences that Malory has thus translated, and the list might be greatly increased by the almost innumerable phrases similarly taken from his original. Sommer's idea that literal, translation occurs but rarely is unwarranted. After a much more detailed study than his, Dr. Vettermann (p. 63) states : « Malory hat, wenn ihm nicht das *Huth. MS.* selbst vorgelegen hat, eine diesem so sehr ähnliche Rezension der Balen-Geschichte benützt

tion that his divergence from it must be put to his own credit or blame. In theory, nothing could be more admirable than Dr. Vettermann's method; in result, at least in the present writer's opinion, nothing could be more utterly wrong.

Dr. Vettermann's fundamental assumption (p. 63, 78) is that because Malory has reduced his story to about one fourth of his original, he has thereby sacrificed much in the way of characterization, motivation, and style. She believes that Malory not only failed in such matters, but that he genuinely failed to understand the nature, the deeper significance of his story. There is a striking quality about the Balin Story; the hero, as he first appears in the Huth *Merlin*, is doomed to altogether unhappy adventures; despite himself he kills a man, and through that man an innocent, too much loving lady; despite his great prowess he is unable to protect knights who seek his safe-guard; despite the gravest warnings he strikes the Dolorous Blow that brings misery on the land; he destroys the man he would have aided, and the brother whom most he loves. Dr. Vettermann does not observe that these most significant episodes in the Huth Merlin are mingled with others of an entirely irrelevant character [1],

dass wir hier unbedenklich die *Huth. Hds.* als seine Quelle zugrunde legen können ». In an access of caution both she (p. 62) and Sommer (III, p. 146) suggest that another French manuscript may have been used by Malory though obviously his literal translations prove that this must have been practically identical with the Huth MS. Sommer suggests it on the score of proper names. See below, p. 11. Dr. Vetterman has no additional basis for her opinion save the general theory derived from study of the Spanish texts, that there must have been more than one Old French text of Balin. That indeed may be granted, but it in no way affects the clear evidence of the actual dependence of Malory's version on the Huth MS.

4. See below, p. 13.

but even so it is clear that they do embody the concept of a hero fated for tragic destiny.

The argument that Malory did not apprehend this basic significance of the story rests largely on the fact that he omits specific references to Fate. In the Huth *Merlin* the hero occasionally pauses to look upon himself and curse his woes (*Merl.*, II, 9, 48, 53). The first passage cited by Dr. Vettermann (p. 79, 82-3), reads as follows :

« Et dist (Balaain) qu'il est li plus cheitis et li plus mescheans chevaliers de tous cheus qui onques portaissent armes; car ore voit il apertement que fortune li est plus contraire et plus anemie que a nul autre houme ». (*Merl.*, II, 9).

In another passage he cries out :

« Car sans faille je sui li plus mescheans chevaliers qui soit, si est bien esprouvé (II, 42).

Even without their context, these passages give a very fair illustration of these supposedly important allusions to Fate. As a matter of fact they are simply windy asseverations, such as might occur in any story of knightly mischance. Their omission on Malory's part is a virtue, not a fault. The sense of Fate in his version depends not upon an outward word, but upon an inner mood and atmosphere, an emphasis, that is wholly and uniquely his own. It is he alone who releases the tragic primary episodes of the story from trivial and unrelated things, who has focussed all the interest on the figure of Balin, and who has enhanced, through details altogether ignored or misinterpreted by Dr. Vetterman, the sense of mystery and of « swift oncoming doom ». A close comparison of the scene of climax in the two versions will best prove these contentions.

In the Huth *Merlin* (II, 43) after the suicide of the lover he had tried to save, the hero, who is here known

as the « chevaliers a deus espees », meditates for a while on his bad luck, and at last mounts his horse and rides into a pleasant forest where the birds are singing. Malory reduces the three hundred words or so of this passage to twenty-one :

« When Balin saw that, he dressed him thenceward, lest folk would say he had slain them ; and so he rode forth. » He omits the thirty lines in the French text which record the chevalier's meeting with a squire to whom he tells the story of the dead lovers so that it may be put into writing, and remembered as a « merveilleuse » thing. The French text also sets forth the wonder of the people who found the bodies of the lovers, and of their relief when the squire came by and told them all about it. It is difficult to see anything in this that does not distract attention from the figure of Balin, and the imminence of his own fate.

The French text lingers over the picture of Balaain's riding « comme aventure le portoit », until at last he comes to a river, « forte et rade » where there is a « chastiaus si bien de toutes chose k'en tout le pais n'avoit plus biel ne plus gent. Quant il vint a demie liue priès dou chastiel, il trova une grant chimentiere ou il avoit tombes pluisours vielles et neuves. Au chief del chimentiere par deviers le chastiel avoit une crois toute neuve. En cele crois avoit lettres qui disoient : *Os tu, chevalier errans qui vas querant aventures ? Je te déffenc que tu n'ailles de chi pres dou chastiel. Et sache que elles ne sont mie legieres a un chevalier.* Quant il a leues les lettres, il entent moult bien que elles dient, a che que il estoit bien lettrés. Et lors commenche a regarder le chastiel, se li semble moult biel. Et maintenant dist a soi meismes que ja Dieus ne li ait s'il retorne devant qu'il ait veut le chastiel par dedens. « Et, certes », fait il, « a couart et a malvais me deveroit (on) tenir, se je retornie pour parole que

je voie escrite ». Lors se met outre la crois et s'en vait grant oirre viers le chastiel. Et lors n'a gaires alé quant il encontre un vavasour viel et anchiien, tout mellé de chainne(s), qui li dist, si tost comme il vint près de lui : « Sire chevaliers, vous avés passé les bonnes ; il n'i a mais riens del retorner. » « Encore », fait il, « irai jou outre.» ... Ensi dist li prodom.— Et quant che fu chose qu'il vint près dou chasteil a trois archies, lors escoute et ot en la maistre fortereche de laiens un cor souner a grant alainne, aussi comme che fust de prise de cierf ou de porc sauvage. Et quant il entent, il commenche a sourire et dist a soi meismes : « Qu'es che? Me tiennent il a pris, qui cornent de prise » ?

In Malory all this is reduced to the few lines that follow : « And so he rode forth, and within three days he came by a cross, and thereon were letters of gold written, that said. It is not for no knight alone to ride toward this castle. Then saw he an old hoar gentleman coming toward him, that said, Balin, le Savage, thou passest thy bounds to come this way, therefore turn again and it will avail thee. And he vanished away anon ; and so he heard an horn blow as it had been the death of a beast. That blast, said Balin, is blown for me, for I am the prize and yet am I not dead ».

Does this forceful condensation lose anything of essential detail? Obviously no. Yet condensed as it is, it has space for certain effective touches of Malory's own. The inscription on the cross is the only thing in the whole scene described by the French author which is essential to the dramatic situation. Malory emphasizes it by saying its letters were of gold, and in making it a blunt, stern prohibition. He adds the touch of mystery in the vanishing away of the old hoar man that makes him known as an unearthly creature, portentous as the old man in Chaucer's Pardoner's Tale. Malory does not let his hero indulge in

a self-conscious soliloquy at the moment the very sound of doom is in the air. The smiling question of the chevalier about the horn-blowing is changed by Malory, not because, as Dr. Vettermann (p. 73) suggests, he failed to understand the pun in the French words, but because to an English ear, punning is hardly suited to the moment of tragic climax. The whole irony of the fateful situation is apprehended in Balin's brief but bitter speech : « I am the prize and yet I am not dead. »

The next episode of the story tells of the evil custom of the castle. The French text makes the scene as cheerful as it is typical, and wholly untouched by awe or pathos. More than a hundred dancing and singing maidens welcome the hero warmly ; « il est si esbahis de la joie que elles li font qu'il ne set qu'il doie dire » (II, 45). After the maidens come chevaliers richly dressed and a seneschal, from whom the hero asks why the maidens are so happy. The seneschal explains that it is because they will see him joust, for it is the custom to make each stranger knight do this. The hero condemns the custom as « mauvaise et vilainne » ; « car quant uns chevaliers errans vient de lointainnes terres lassés et travilliés de grans jornees, quidiés vous qu'il soit si aaisiés de combatre maintenant com sera li chevaliers de la tour qui ne fera fors que reposer ? Iceste chose ne di je mie, che sachiés vous, por moi ; car je ne sui ne si lassés ne si travilliés, ains me plaist bien autant li combatres comme feroit li reposers ; main je le di pour la coustume » (II, 46).

In contrast to all this Malory merely mentions the « glad semblance » made by the knights and maidens for Balin ; he omits the polite but unnecessary seneschal, and makes the lady of the castle herself briefly explain its strange custom. Balin's answer is characteristic. He does not, like the dapper French knight,

discuss it as a point of chivalric courtesy, but he speaks in words that make him known to us as a brave but worn and weary man. There is a mournful cadence in his speech as appealing as anything in the whole of the *Morte Darthur*. « Well », said Balin, « sine I shall thereto I am ready, but travelling men are oft weary and their horses too ; but though my horse be weary my heart is not weary, I would be fain there my death should be » (Ch. 17).

As the hero goes to the joust, he exchanges his shield, by which his brother, who is the defender of the castle, might have recognized him, for another one. In the French text it is the ubiquitous seneschal who remarks : « Sire, vostre escus ne me samble mie moult boins » (II, 46) ; in Malory a blunt knight says : « methinketh your shield is not good, I will lend you a bigger ». In both versions when the hero has reached the island where the fight is to take place, a maiden gives him his second warning. « Sire chevaliers, » she says in the *Merlin* (II, 47), « chou est tout de la mesqueance que vos avés vostre escu cangié : se vous l'eussiés a vostre col, vous n'i morussiés hui, ains vous reconneust vostre amis et vous lui. Mais ceste mesqueance vous envoie Dieus pour le fait que vous fesistes chiés le roi Pellehan en lieu de venganche, si n'est mie la venganche si grans comme li fais le requesist. Che vous mande Merlins par moi ».

Dr. Vetterman (p. 76) cites this passage as an instance of the better motivation and sequence of the French text because it definitely connects this episode with Merlin's prophecies of the doom that would follow Balin. She condemns Malory's version because he represents the maiden as addressing Balin by his own name, which she could not have known, and because no reference is made to the Dolorous Stroke, nor to the maiden as Merlin's messenger. The cold lucidity of

the maiden's speech in the *Merlin* may be more satisfying to some, but it is at least fair to observe that it completely destroys all suspense in the situation, and implies a decided mental denseness on the part of the hero who, after such a warning, proceeded to fight unquestioningly with his unknown « amis ». With more sense of sustaining both the mystery and the suspense, Malory makes the maiden give her warning in words that only add to Balin's sad bewilderment. « O knight Balin », she cries, « why have ye left your own shield ? alas ye have put yourself in great danger ». She herself as a character needs no more explanation than does the old hoar man. Both, for Malory, are simply the palpable voices of destiny. It is difficult not to suspect that, in their naming of Balin, Malory is deliberately suggesting the old superstition of the fatality of the « death naming » [1].

It is characteristic that the French writer should set forth at length the various emotions of the hero (II, 47) as he prepares himself for the battle, and should devote three pages (printed text, II, 49-52) to the battle itself. Malory uses a more reticent method, but it is significant that he adds at least one most important detail. Though the French text consistently refers to the hero as « li chevaliers as deus espees », and several times makes definite reference to the fatal sword which the knight had taken from the sword maiden, and henceforth carried in addition to his own; though it even states (I, 253), in an earlier passage, that it was with this sword that he was to kill his brother, in this last supreme scene, nothing is said of its use. Dr. Vetterman (p. 65) admits that Malory evidently noted this serious omission, and bettered the text by saying that Balin, hard pressed, at last « smote him again with

1. Cf. Child, *English and Scottish Ballads*, I, 95.

that unhappy sword ». The addition proves not only Malory's perception of the fundamental unity of the story, for in achieving the sword, Balin incurred his doom, but also something of his instinct for what Chambers, in his recent essay on Malory (Oxford, 1922) calls the « vivid word ». The word « unhappy » in the Book of Balin, as in the sorrowful lament of Lancelot (XXI, 8), is like a knell, solemn and recurrent. Balin, himself, is beyond all others a knight unhappy.

When the brothers have wounded each to the death, they begin to talk. In the French text the speeches are as discursive as they are complimentary. The writer tells us of the brothers laments, of their piety, their insistence on a common burial in the place where they had fallen, their farewell to the lady of the castle. Malory keeps the sense of all of this, but with a more dramatic sense of the swift passing moments. His brothers act and speak as mortally wounded men might do, briefly, poignantly. Dr. Vetterman (p. 77) condemns him for omitting the rather long story which the French author gives at this point in order to explain the custom of the castle. The account of the jealous knight who took his lady there for safe keeping and of their little retinue (*Merlin*, II, 54), and of how, in order to keep himself in practice, the knight established the custom, and how it was kept up by his conqueror until at last it was the turn of Balaans to serve as the Knight of the Castle, is a rather puerile little story in itself. Coming as it does in the very middle of the scene of the brothers' death, it breaks and dissipates the tragic effect. We need no explanation of the custom which is of interest only as Fate's last cruel trick against the brothers. Balan's woeful words in Malory give all that is essential. « Here it happed me to slay a knight that kept this island, and syne might I never depart and no more should ye, brother, an ye — escap-

ed yourself with the life ». There is in this last scene in the English version unbroken dignity and pathos.

The foregoing comparison of the same climactic scene in the two versions makes plain the essential differences between them. Whatever one may feel about the fluent ease of the French writer, it must be admitted that in his hands the episode lacks the pathos and the mystery which it has in Malory's. *A priori* it might well be expected that a man of the same race as the author of *Beowulf* would deal with *Wyrd* [1] in a manner more suited to the concept than could one not born to the inheritance of « Teutonic melancholy ». In its entirety Malory's Book of Balin might well serve as an illustration of the ancient saying ; « Gaeth ā wyrd swā hīo scel ». Balin is not an « unfaege earl », though his courage endures ; he is fated to fall. The book is too mediaeval, too Catholic, to voice any articulate protest against « gods careless of our doom », but it is heavy with the sense of the doom of death and of human helplessness. The brothers at the end make plaintive moan to each other : « We came both out of one tomb, — and so shall we lie both in one pit » [2].

. . . . . .

In addition to her belief that Malory misses or minimizes the true purport of his story. Dr. Vettermann argues that his characterization is weaker and his style poorer than that of the French author. So far as the

1. Cf. Klaeber, *Anglia*, XXXVI, 171 ; also *Archiv*, CXV, 179.

2. Malory's single sentence gives illustration of his free and deliberate methods in translation. It is twice used in the French text. « Car tout aussi comme nos cors issirent d'un vaissiel, aussi reseront il en un vaissiel mis » (p. 53), and again, (p. 55) « Et savés vous, dame, pour coi je le vous requier que nous soions en un vaissiel mis ? Pour chou que nous issimes d'un vaissiel, che fu dou ventre nostre mere ».

last point is concerned, the best answer lies in the passages already quoted. Even Dr. Vettermann admits (p. 83) that Malory has spared us « dadurch manche Weitschweifigheit seines ungemein ausführlichen Vorgängers », but she nevertheless maintains that his text suffers from the omission of such « Wortspielen », comparisons, and rhetorical questions as occur in his original. This must remain a matter of taste. If one prefers a pun to the tragic pathos of Balin's speech when he hears the horn blowing, there is no more to say. But one wonders what « Pathos » means when one reads the critic's comment (p. 83); « Für das Pathos seines Vorgängers zeigt er wenig Verständnis ». The charge rests altogether on Malory's omission of the hero's pessimistic complaints against fortune, and of Lot's description of the baby Modred. Similarly one wonders that the conventional prettiness of the French writer's more lyric passages about the rising of the moon or the singing of the birds [1], should be preferred to the stark simplicity of Malory's version.

As regards characterization in the two versions, Dr. Vetterman thinks that Malory's omission of certain small human weaknesses lessens the reality of his characters [2]. In the case of the hero, she notes (p. 79) that

1. Cf. Vettermann, p. 83 : *Merl.*, I, 236 « Quant la lune fu levee biele et clere », or II, 38, « la lune luisoit biele et clere », or the description of the birds singing, *Merl.*, II, 93.

2. She argues (p. 80-82) that Malory idealizes both Arthur and Merlin. She admits that Malory keeps all that is said of Merlin as prophet and wizard, the only roles suitable for him to play in this story of strange customs and enchantments, but grudges his omission of Merlin's « kleinen menschlichen Schwächen » (p. 82), these apparently being represented by Merlin's evil liaison with Morgain. In the same breath, and without noting the incongruity in the Huth MS. which her own words make more apparent, she regrets (p. 82) that Malory did not emphasize, as did his source, the priestly character of Merlin, and his numerous moral admonitions to the king.

the Huth *Merlin* represents Balaain as suffering at court first from offended pride (*Merl.*, I, 217), and then from his fear of having too much offended the king (I, 221), and later from his fear of what will happen to him on the island (II, 47). It is open to doubt whether anyone save a critic with a thesis would find in these abbreviated suggestions of small emotions anything suggestive of actual realism, or appropriate to the large and simple concept of essentially epic character. The hero in the Huth *Merlin* of whom so much is said, remains after all an entirely conventional figure; Malory alone makes him known to us by his own words as a blunt and obstinate, but heroic and unfortunate man. A striking instance of the difference in portraiture comes at the very beginning. In the Huth *Merlin* (I, 216), the chevalier, annoyed because the sword-girt maiden hesitates to allow him to make trial of the sword, retorts : « Damoisiele, ne m'aiiés en despit pour ma poureté : je fui ja plus riches ». For this bit of vainglory Malory substitutes a speech that is not only a notable amplification of his original, but one of which the spirit is noble, and English to the core; « Ah ! fair Demosel, said Balin, worthiness and good tatches, and good deeds, are not only in arrayment, but manhood and worship is hid within a man's person, and many a worshipful knight is not known unto all people, and therefore worship and hardiness is not in arrayment » (II, c. 2).

Throughout the book, Malory's Balin is possessed of dramatic and forceful personality. His speeches are varied in key. Balin is fierce sometimes, « boistous », in truth, as Merlin says. « By the faith of my body », he bursts out angrily when rebuked by Merlin, « I might not save her, for she slew herself suddenly » (II, 8). The imprecation alone changes the tone of this from the polite utterance of the French chevalier : « Je ne

me poe si haster que ele ne se fust ochise.» (*Merl.*, I, 231). When Merlin utters his mournful prophecy that Balin shall kill his friend, Malory's Balin speaks with abrupt, harsh vigor : « If I wist it were sooth that ye say, I would slay myself to make thee a liar » (II, 8). [1] In the strange episode of the capture of the maiden by those who desire a dishful of her blood, her protector Balin speaks with sharp courage and sense : « She shall bleed as much as she may bleed, but I will not lose the life of her whiles my life lasteth » (Ch. 13). Later, though the castle of King Pellam lies in ruins, and Merlin has but just rescued him, Balin stands firm : « I would have my damosel, said Balin (Ch. 16), nor would he depart till he saw her lying dead ». In the French text the hero simply inquired in characterless fashion : « Et de la damoisiele qui avoec moi vint chaiens, savés vous nulle nouviele ? » (II, 28). In the moving incident of the betrayed lover whom Balin tried to help, there is a striking enhancement in Malory's version of the tragic pathos of the situation. In the French text, the lover, having killed his false lady and her paramour, bursts into mournful outcries : « Ha ! las, que ai jou fait ? » (II, 41). His grief brings him at last to some reproach of Balaain : « Sire, or poés veoir que vous avés gaaigniet en moustrer moi mon grant duel ». Nowhere in the French version is there anything to suggest the confession of despairing weakness that there is in Malory. « O Balin », cries the lover, « much sorrow hast thou brought unto me, for hadst thou not shewed me that sight, I should have passed

1. Again this is an example of close translation on Malory's part, yet with a characteristic change of cadence. The French text reads (I, 232) : « Et se je cuidoie que si dolereuse chose avenist par moi comme tu devises, je m'ochiroie anchois que ne t'en fesisse menteour, et j'aroie droit de che faire ; car mieus vaurroit ma mors que ma vie. »

my sorrow.» Likewise there is nothing in the French to match even remotely with the heartsick answer of the wretched Balin : « Forsooth, I did it to this intent that it should better thy courage, — and to cause you to leave love of such a lady ; God knoweth I did none other but as I would ye did to me » (Ch. 17).

To deny the power of forceful dramatic characterization to speeches such as these, to fail to observe Malory's habitual turning of commentary into dramatic speech [1] and action, is uncritical prejudice. With the minimum of indirect statement, Malory makes his Balin a distinctive personality, one that breaks up and completely overshadows the conventional pattern type found in his source. Professor Scudder's estimate of Malory's power in this direction is more than justified. Tested by its great scenes, by individual speeches, and by cumulative effect, Malory's version can be shown, in comparison with its source, to possess superior power, purpose, and artistry.

The minor charges that Malory's version is occasionally inconsistent, or obscure, or mistaken in translation, must be dealt with briefly. To say that Malory misunderstood his original in the three instances cited by Sommer (III, 79, 96) and Dr. Vettermann (p. 30, 71) is to underrate both his intelligence and his free methods of work. No one, for instance, who knew any French at all could mistranslate « la dame de l'isle d'Avalon ». (*Merl.*, I, 213, 223). Malory's equivalent, Lady Lylle of Avelion (Ch. 5), bears witness to a deliberate change on his part. When his French text failed to give a proper name, for the use of which he had a peculiar predilection [2], he invented one. Thus in the

1. Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 7, on Malory's use of dialogue ; also Scudder, p. 390, ff.

2. This is best witnessed by his numerous « roll calls » of knights. Cf. Bk VIII, ch. 35 ; XIX, 11 ; XX, 5, 18. In Book V,

story of Balin, the French « duc de Harniel » (*Merl.*, II, 35) became in Malory's version Duke Hermel (ch. 16); the « chevaliers mesconneus » (*Merl.*, I, 279) became Herlews de Berbeus (ch. 12); another unnamed chevaliers (*Merl.*, II, 2-12) Malory christened Peryn de Mountbeliard [1] (ch. 13); the unnamed, betrayed lover (*Merl.*, II, 32) he called Garnysshe of the Mount (ch. 16), and for the unnamed lover of Morgain le Fay (*Merl.*, I, 267) Malory (ch. XI) borrowed from another and later lover, the name Accolon (*Merl.*, II, 174). Dr. Vettermann (p. 71 ff.) cites some of these names as examples of Malory's « Ergänzungen » without perceiving that they establish here as elsewhere evidence of a distinctive habit on Malory's part, and that Lady Lylle in no way « beruht auf einen Versehen, bezw. einer Verlesung Malorys » (p. 71).

The inconsistencies cited by the critics are in part justifiable, in part not. To the present writer, Malory's forgetfulness in stating that the sword-girt maiden returned to court after she had departed (ch. 2) and so was present to hear Merlin's reproaches (ch. 4), seems a less serious matter than the forgetfulness of the French author in mentioning the fatal sword by which Balin achieves his doom and kills his brother. Neither writer remembers to fulfill the prophecy that the hero should kill with this sword the brother of the maid

where the evidence is plain that Malory made use of the alliterative *Morte Arthur* (Thornton MS.), a poem in which the author's fondness for proper names seems even to have surpassed Malory's, it is interesting to find that Malory not only occasionally added a name, but freely changed those which he found. Cf. Sommer, III, 148-175. Again the critic, because of these names, is forced to conjecture (p. 156) another lost version, but the supposition is as pointless as in the Book of Balin.

1. The name of Gautier de Montbeliard (d. 1212), a patron of Robert de Borron's, is mentioned in Robert's *Merlin*. Cf. Huth, *Merlin*, p. IX; Sommer, III, 91.

who wore it (*Merl.*, I, 224; Malory, ch. 5), and neither writer explains why the hero, who after his encounter with the sword maiden seems always to have carried two swords, is represented as weaponless when his own sword breaks in King Pellam's castle [1]. Impeccable accuracy of detail is not a virtue of mediaeval romancers and in these matters Malory is neither better nor worse than his source [2]. In others, however, which have likewise been cited to his disparagement, he has been palpably misjudged.

Among the « Abänderungen » made by Malory, and considered unfortunate by Dr. Vettermann (p. 72), are his treatment of the hero's name, and his explanation for Balin's poor estate at Arthur's court. The French author throughout his story makes a mystery of the hero's name. Balaain is introduced as a poor knight of Northumberland whose name is not known to Arthur until Merlin reveals it (*Merl.*, I, 233); his brother Balaans conceals it from Mark (*Merl.*, I, 233), and the

1. For some inscrutable reason Dr. Vettermann (p. 65) thinks the Huth text « klarer als Malory », because it twice refers to the fact that Balin used his own, and not the enchanted sword in moments of danger. (*Merl.*, I, 253 : II, 27). Dr. Vettermann is right, however, in pointing out that in Malory's version, Balin is represented as still possessed of two swords (Ch. 17, 18), though his own had been broken in the Grail castle.

2. In the matter of Excalibur, it may also be granted that Malory is more careless than his source. In Book I, ch. 6, 9, he had thus named the sword which Arthur « had by miracle » of the stone, and therefore the name should not have been given to the sword which Arthur received from the Lady of the Lake, (I, 25), and for which in Book II she claims the gift of Balin's head. Cf. Sommer, III, 79; Vettermann, p. 74. But the variety and bulk of the sources used by Malory in his first two books might well excuse some carelessness on his part in matters of detail, particularly in view of his neat dovetailing of these varied texts together, and of the power shown in his revision of the whole story of Balin.

author is careful to let no one of the characters except Merlin (*Merl.*, II, 27) address the hero by his name. He is known simply by his cognomen « li chevaliers a deus espees », a clear borrowing from older French romance. At best this is an artificial sort of secrecy which serves no plain purpose. Malory omitted it, but, as has been already intimated, the omission did not involve him in the contradiction supposed by Dr. Vettermann (p. 11, 64). The old man and the maiden who at the end call Balin by name have a supernatural purpose; indeed both may be considered, as the old man is plainly shown to be, supernatural personages possessed of unearthly knowledge. Their naming of Balin is an effective dramatic touch which adds to, rather than lessens the sense of ill-boding mystery.

As to Malory's changes in regard to the antecedent story of his hero, they are in the interests of simplicity and realism. The Huth *Merlin* (I, 215) sets forth that Balaain had slain a « parent » of the king of Northumberland, that he had been imprisoned for more than half a year, and would have stayed there till he died had not the king's own daughter released him (*Merl.*, I, 228). Malory says bluntly that Balin, a poor Northumberland knight, had slain a cousin of Arthur, had been imprisoned for it, and then « by the good means of the barons he was delivered out of prison ». Here as elsewhere Malory lessens the number of characters and omits the irrelevant romantic event. The king's daughter goes into the limbo of unnecessary people together with Gifflet, a youth to whom Arthur speaks (*Merl.*, II, 254) and two squires and a hermit who appear in later episodes in the Huth *Merlin* (I, 250; II, 12; II, 43), and are likewise omitted by Malory.

A study of Malory's narrative omissions in comparison with the Huth *Merlin* goes far to confirm the sense of his power and conscious art. He omits the

account of the exhausted knight who brings tidings to Arthur of King Rions' invasion (I, 212), and begins with the episode of the sword maiden which is directly connected with Balin. He condenses the elaborated account of Arthur's anger against the hero when the latter has killed the Lady of the Lake, and of the hero's abject humiliation (I, 220-221), this, it would seem, for the sake of heroic character. He omits the entirely purposeless episode of Merlin's meeting with Blaise (*Merl.*, I, 232), and, despite his own liking for battle scenes, reduces the manifold details of the fight of the two brothers against Rions (*Merl.*, I, 233-240) to vigorous but briefest statement. « Anon Balin and his brother met with the king, and smote him down, and wounded him fiercely, and laid him to the ground ; and there they slew on the right hand and on the left hand, and slew more than forty of his men, and the remnant fled ». The battle scenes in the French text are extremely well told, but they are entirely too long, too over-emphasized, for the story to which they belong. Malory omits Merlin's masterful counsel to Arthur to appease King Lot, and the description of Lot's anger with Arthur for the supposed death of his infant son Modred (*Merl.*, I, 244-48) ; also the details of Merlin's talk with Lot (*Merl.*, I, 254-256). Throughout the French text, Arthur and his court play almost as important a part as Balaain and his brother; in Malory's version the effort is plainly made to eliminate or else subordinate all material that does not directly deal with the brothers. To this end he omits entirely from his book the account of the young Gawain's oath of vengeance for the death of his father, Loth (*Merl.*, I, 262-263); also the story of Morgain's love for Merlin, the birth of her child Yvain (*Merl.*, I, 266); of her second *amour* with an unnamed chevalier to whom she gave the sheath of Arthur's sword, and of Arthur's vengeance

(*Merl.*, I, 267-272), material of which Malory made some much more fitting use in the purely romantic episodes of his fourth book. Malory likewise omitted from the story of Balin the account of the young Baudemagus (*Merl.*, I, 273), of his friendship with Gavain and Gahariet, and of Merlin's prophecy concerning his fate (273-275).

The material thus discarded by Malory is all of essentially the same kind; it is purely romantic and it concerns the familiar personages of Arthur's court. It is not without interest or popular appeal. That it was so ruthlessly and completely sacrificed is proof apparent of a controlling purpose, of a conscious realization that whatever its charm elsewhere, it did not belong to the tragic and fatalistic story of the two brothers. The result of its exclusion is that in Malory's version there is no single scene or chapter in which one or the other of the brothers is not present, or is not directly named. With absolute unity of effect, with a terseness of style that yet keeps cadences of haunting beauty, Malory achieves in the Book of Balin a version that no one has ever bettered. The comparison of it with its source gives us the most accurate measure we possess of his own independent power, of the genius with which he could transform an « olde boke ». Sad as the story is, there is in it a kind of nobleness that, like Balin's first adventure, « doth raise the heart ». It is Malory's Book of Courage. « Dread you not », said Balin, « we will do what we may ».

MORDRED'S INCESTUOUS BIRTH

JAMES DOUGLAS BRUCE

A few years ago [1] I tried to prove that it was the author of the *Mort Artu* who first introduced the conception of Mordred's incestuous birth into the Vulgate cycle of the prose romances. In the present article I hope to prove still further that this striking conception does not appear in Arthurian literature before him at all and after him only in texts that are dependent on his work, either directly or indirectly — in other words, that he was the real originator of the *motif*. This writer was endowed with a dramatic sense beyond any other in the whole domain of mediaeval romance and he endeavored to intensify the tragedy of Arthur's downfall by representing the chief agent in this catastrophe as being the offspring of the monarch's incestuous

1. *Romanic Review* (cited as « RR » in the rest of this article), IX, 382 ff. (1918), X, 108 f. (1919). The allusions to the subject in the *Mort Artu* will be found in Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, VI, 325, 349, 377 (1913).

relations with his own sister. Neither the *Mort Artu* nor the *Lancelot* in the passage [1] in which conception under discussion also occurs and which, if my contention is correct, was, likewise, from the pen of the author of the *Mort Artu*, tells us whether the incest in question was conscious or not. In the latter case we should have here the stern Aeschylean doctrine, « The doer must suffer », extended to an act of unconscious sin, just as in the case of Oedipus, and it is, indeed, possible, although not likely, that the *motif* of Arthur's incest descended directly from that of Oedipus through a single intermediate version — the legend of Pope Gregory [2]. Gaston Paris, it is true, was inclined [3] to regard the scandalous report recorded by Plutarch [4] to the effect that Brutus was Caesar's son as the immediate source of the conception that Arthur fell by the hand of his own son, and more recently Ferdinand Lot [5] has

1. Op. cit., V, 284 f. (1912). — It is the thesis of F. Lot's *Etude sur le Lancelot en prose* (1918) that, except the *Merlin*, all branches of the Vulgate cycle were composed by the same author. For criticisms of this theory, however, see the reviews of his book by the present writer, RR, X, 377 ff. (1919), and by A. Pauphilet, *Romania*, XLV, 514 ff. (1918-1919). — G. Paris, *Huth-Merlin*, I, p. XLI, states that the *motif* we are discussing first appears in the *Lancelot* passage just cited. He does not, however, argue the question.

2. For this legend as the immediate source of the conception concerning Mordred's incestuous birth cp. Bruce's edition of the *Mort Artu*, p. 294 f. (1910). On the other hand, there are obvious and important differences between the legends of Oedipus and Gregory, so that most scholars have denied that there was any historical connection between them. Cp. L. Constans, *La légende d'Oedipe*, p. 127 ff. (1881). D'Ancona, however, still took the opposite view.

3. *Huth-Merlin*, Introduction, p. XLI (1886). He suggested, however, also, *ibid.*, note 3, in a single sentence, the possible influence of the Gregory legend.

4. Life of Brutus, ch. 5.

5. *Etude sur le Lancelot en prose*, p. 444 (1918).

derived the idea of Mordred's incestuous birth from the feature of the Roland legend which, in some versions, represents that hero as the son of Charlemagne by his sister [1]. There is no incest, however, involved in Plutarch's story and no tragedy flows from the (conscious) incest of Charlemagne with his sister. Both of these conditions, on the other hand, are fulfilled in the legend of Pope Gregory, which was, besides, incomparably better known in the Middle Ages [2] than the versions of the Roland legend just alluded to, to say nothing of the ancient scandal concerning Brutus.

In the article referred to above I included in my discussion only the passages bearing on the subject that occur in the *Lancelot* and the *Mort Artu*, respectively. In order to decide the whole question definitely, however, it is obviously necessary to investigate the accounts of Mordred's birth and parentage from the earliest texts down and it is the evidence assembled in the course of such an investigation that I wish to present in this place.

In the earliest extant text where Mordred's name is mentioned viz. the *Annales Cambriae*, as preserved in the British Museum MS. Harleian 3859 (tenth century), nothing is said on the subject. We have there under the year 537 (A. D.) simply the well-known entry [3] : « Gueith Camlann (i. e. Battle of Camlan) in

1. For a list of the texts relating to Roland that show this feature, cp. Léon Gautier, *Les épopées françaises*, III, 65, note (1880). The *Chanson de Roland* is, of course, not among them.

2. For its influence on the romances, cp. Bruce's edition of the Latin romances, *Historia Meriadoci* and *De Ortu Waluuanii*. p. XLI ff. (1913). According to the second of these romances, Anna had by Lot, before she married him, a child (Gawain), whose early adventures are modeled on those of Pope Gregory.

3. J. Loth's *Mabinogion*, II, 372. I cite the second edition, 2 vol., 1913.

qua Arthur et Medraut corruerunt; et mortalitas in Brittania et in Hibernia fuit. »

In Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (circa 1136), however, Book VIII, chapters 20-21, we are told that Utherpendragon had by Igerna a son named Arthur (the great king) and a daughter named Anna, and then, with reference to the invasion of Great Britain by Octa and Eosa, the author makes the following statement : « Committitur itaque exercitus Britanniae Lot de Londonesia, ut hostes longius arceret. Erat autem consul ille Leir, eques strenuissimus, sapientia et aetate maturus. Probitate ergo ipsius acclamante, dederat ei rex [i. e. Utherpendragon] filiam suam Annam, regnique sui curam, dum infirmitati subjaceret ». On the other hand, in Book IX, ch. 9, Geoffrey says of Arthur that he gave Lot's brothers, Auguselus and Urien, the rule over the Scots and the inhabitants of Murray (Murefenses), respectively, « Lot autem, qui tempore Aurelii Ambrosii sororem ipsius [i. e. Arthur's] duxerat : ex qua Walgannum et Modedrium genuerat; ad consulatum Londonesiae caeterarumque comprovinciarum, quae ad eum pertinebant, reduxit ».

In more respects than one, however, these passages do not harmonize. In the first place, it is impossible that Lot should have married Anna in the time of Aurelius Ambrosius, her paternal uncle and her father's immediate predecessor on the throne — for her father, Utherpendragon, first met her mother, after he had become king [1]. Moreover, even if Anna were really married twice, it seems singular that in the second passage, which tells of her marriage with Lot,

1. Cp. Geoffrey, Book VIII, ch. 19. The idea that Anna was a sister of Aurelius Ambrosius in Leroux de Lincy's edition ot Wace, II, 30, note, evidently rests on a bad MS. reading.

no mention should be made of her marriage with Leir, which is related in the first passage. San Marte tries to get over the difficulty by identifying Lot with Leir [1]. But there is no justification for this, for in the first of the two passages just quoted Geoffrey speaks of them as distinct personages. Wace and other paraphrasers of Geoffrey were wiser than the German editor — they simply eliminated Leir from the story altogether.

As far as the Welsh texts are concerned, there is only one passage [2], viz. in the *Dream of Rhonabwy*, where Arthur and Mordred are said to be kinsmen in any degree. In this place, Arthur, in order to dissuade Mordred from battle, urges (through Iddawc) that he is Mordred's uncle and foster-father. Now, the *Dream of Rhonabwy* seems to have been written before 1159 [3], but this particular passage may well have been composed under the influence of Geoffrey. We are not in a position, however, to make any positive assertion on the subject. In any case, the passage does not affect the present discussion.

The remaining texts that we have to consider are all unquestionably later than Geoffrey. We will take them up in what seems to be their due chronological order :

1. Wace's *Roman de Brut* [4]. In ll. 9053 ff., it is said that Utherpendragon had by Īgerna (Ygerne) a daugh-

1. Cp. his edition of Geoffroy, p. 387, where he says that Lot and Leir seem to be the same name. In Loth's *Mabinogion*, II, 423, there are four *Llyr's* (the Welsh equivalent of *Leir*, *Lear*) listed, but none of them can be identified with the present Leir.

2. Loth, *op. cit.*, I, 354. Wherever the subject is mentioned in the chronicles, it is manifestly under the influence of the French prose romances. Cp. R. H. Fletcher, *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles* (1906), the passages indexed under *Modred*.

3. *Ibid.*, I, 29.

4. Edited by Le Roux de Lincy, 1838.

ter, Anna who was born after Arthur and was married to Lot. Nowhere does Wace speak of Anna's having contracted any other marriage and in the present passage he says that Gawain was her son, but names no other children. When in line 11452, however, he tells us that Arthur, on setting out for his continental wars, entrusted his kingdom and Guinevere to « Mordret, un de ses nevos », we must conclude that this nephew was Anna's child, for neither Geoffrey nor Wace had mentioned any other children of either Utherpendragon or Igerna. (The idea that Arthur had still another sister, Morgain, does not appear before Chrétien, *Erec*, II, 4216 ff.). Strange to say, however, he adds at this point (II, 11458 ff.) that Guinevere was Mordred's sister :

Mordres estoit de grant nobloi,
Mais n'avoit mie bonne foi;
Genievre estoit sa seror
Mais il lui fist grant deshonor.
Il avoit la roine amee,
Mais ce estoit cose celee;
Il s'en celoit, mais qui quidast
Que il la feme son oncle amast?

Nowhere else are Mordred and Guinevere represented as brother and sister, and this is, indeed, the only line even in Wace where such a relationship between the two is assumed. Similarly, nowhere else is it implied that Arthur married his own niece. The only explanation that I can offer for this puzzling line, which stands thus absolutely isolated, is that in painting in dark colors the character of Mordred, especially in regard to the marital dishonor which he brought upon Arthur, Wace yielded momentarily to the temptation of representing the traitor as adding incest to adultery in the list of his crimes.

2. Layamon's *Brut* [1]. In this poem which is based, doubtless, on a somewhat expanded version of Wace [2], there is nothing touching the subject under discussion, except the statement, l. 25477, that Mordred is « Arthures suster sune » [3].

3. According to the prose rendering of Robert de Boron's *Merlin* [4], Lot's wife, not named, is spoken of as the elder daughter of Gorlois — evidently by Igerna, although this is merely implied, not expressly stated — and she was wedded to her husband before her half-brother, Arthur, son of Utherpendragon, was born. She bore Lot, it is said, five sons — Gawain, Agravain, Guerrehes, Gaheries, and Mordred. So Mordred's name here is not stained with the suggestion of incest, or even of illegitimacy. This stands in strong contrast to the story in the Vulgate continuation of this same *Merlin*, as we shall see below.

4. The *Mort Artu* [5]. This branch of the Vulgate cycle

1. Edited by Sir Frederick Madden, 1847.

2. Cp. R. Imelman, *Layamon : Versuch über seine Quellen* (1906), and the present writer, *Modern Language Notes*, XXVI, 66 ff. (1911), and *R. R.*, IV, 451 ff. (1913).

3. In ll. 19270 ff. Layamon speaks of Anna's being born after Arthur and of her marrying Lot, but says nothing of her children.

The reader may be surprised that no evidence from Chrétien should be cited in this article, but, strange to say Chrétien does not mention Mordred anywhere in his works — not even in the *Perceval*, ll. 8099 ff. (Baist's edition), where the traitor's name is omitted from the list of Lot's sons. The poet knew, of course, about Mordred's story from Wace, if not from other sources. He has, indeed, imitated it in his *Cliges*, ll. 424 ff., 1053 ff. *et passim*, in the episode of Angres de Guinifores. Perhaps, he did not want to mar his idealization of Arthur's court, however, by recalling the tragical termination of that monarch's glory.

4. Sommer's *Vulgate Version*, II, 72 f. The metrical original of this part of the romance has been lost. Sommer's edition of the prose rendering fills, p. 3-88 (line 18) of his Vol. II.

5. Edited by J. D. Bruce (1910) and by Sommer, *op. cit.*, VI,

comes at the end of that cycle, but it was composed earlier than the *Estoire del Saint Graal* and the *Merlin* [1], both of which preceded it in the series, and its author, as the above passages prove [2], was the first person to conceive of Mordred as a child of incest. As I have already observed, the purpose of this new conception was obvious — viz. to deepen the tragedy of Arthur's end. But was there anything in previous tradition [3] to suggest such a conception to the author of the present romance? In answer to this question, I may remark that from Geoffrey's *Historia* down the story of Mordred had been connected with conceptions of incest in one form or another, for his union with his uncle's wife, even apart from the question of adultery, was within the forbidden bans of relationship, and hence, in a certain sense, incestuous. On the other hand, Wace, as we have seen, in stating that Guinevere was Mordred's sister, makes their relations with one another frankly incestuous. Now, the author of the *Mort Artu* knew Wace's poem well — in fact, from the point [4] where Arthur breaks off the siege of Joyous Gard and takes Guinevere back, it is the main basis of his narrative although he has reshaped his original with the audacity of genius. It would seem, then, that just as he retained the old *motif* of Guinevere's dis-

203 ff. (1913). For the allusions to Mordred's birth see note 1, above.

1. The *Merlin* contains numerous references to all other branches of the cycle. As regards the date of the *Estoire*, both absolute and relative, see my discussion, *RR*, III, 185 ff. (1912).

2. For the relations of the *Mort Artu* to the *Lancelot* in regard to this *motif*, see my discussion cited Note 1, above.

3. The attempt of J. Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, p. 21 f. (1891), to prove that the conception originated in Celtic tradition is purely speculative and has no support whatever in the extant texts.

4. Sommer, VI, 310; Bruce, p. 148.

loyalty to her husband, but made Lancelot, instead of Mordred, the new partner in her adultery, so he kept the *motif* of incest, which he found connected with Mordred in Wace (to say nothing of Geoffrey), but transferred it to Mordred's parents. In this new connection that *motif* was, of course, far more effective than in the old, for Arthur's downfall now appeared not merely as a stupendous calamity, but as one that was caused, in part, at least, by a monstrous, though unwitting, sin, on his part. It is not likely, however, that the single line in Wace or the remoter suggestions of incest which that writer offers in common with Geoffrey in his narrative of Mordred's treason would have alone inspired the author of the *Mort Artu* to make the use of this *motif* which he has done — in an altered form — if there had not been other great stories on this same theme of incest in the Middle Ages — above all, the one which is contained in the legend of Pope Gregory. The *Brut* furnished, then, the spark which kindled our author's imagination, but the legend, just named, constituted, in a truer sense, the real source of this feature of his narrative. It is to be observed, however, that, whereas in the Gregory legend we have a case of incestuous intercourse between brother and sister, in the *Mort Artu* the nature of the incest is left undefined.

5. The prose *Lancelot* [1]. This romance also precedes the *Mort Artu* in the Vulgate cycle, and, in its original form, it was doubtless the earliest branch of the whole cycle, but in the study which I have cited at the beginning of this article [2], I have endeavored to show that the passages in the *Lancelot* that pertain to the subject under discussion are later additions from the hand of

1. Vol. III, IV, and V of Sommer's *Vulgate Version*.
2. Cp. note 1, above.

the author of the *Mort Artu*, written with a direct view to their sequel in that romance. For my argument in regard to the matter I will refer the reader to that study. In this romance, too, the nature of Arthur's incest is left undefined.

6. The *Estoire del Saint Graal* [1]. The only allusion to Mordred's incestuous birth in this romance — which stands first in the Vulgate cycle — will be found in Sommer's *Vulgate Version*, I, 280 f. In that place it is said that Arthur, before he was crowned king, begot Mordred upon his sister — who, however, is left unnamed — and that, when he later discovered her identity, he was deeply grieved at his act.

Now, everything goes to show that the *Estoire* was later than the *Mort Artu* [2], as well as the *Lancelot*, and if that is so, the present passage must have sprung, of course, directly or indirectly, from the passages concerning Mordred's incestuous birth in those two romances. Of the two possibilities just suggested, I am inclined to the second : that is to say, I think it most probable that we have here an interpolation in the *Estoire* under the influence of the passage relating to this subject in the Vulgate *Merlin*-continuation which we take up next. The latter is a full narrative of the affair; the passage in the passage in the *Estoire* consists of only three brief sentences. It is impossible, however, to prove that the suspicion which I here express is correct. Fortunately, the question possesses little importance.

1. Vol. I of Sommer's series. It is noteworthy that the *Queste del Saint Graal* (Sommer, VI, 3-199) contains no mention of Mordred's incestuous birth. This fact corroborates my argument, *RR*, IV, 458 ff. (1913), to the effect that the *Queste* antedated *Mort Artu*, for otherwise the sermonizing author of the former would have surely rung the changes on a sin so abominable as this.

2. Cp. note 20, above.

7. The Vulgate *Merlin*-continuation [1]. In this text [2] we have a detailed account of how, at the time that the barons had assembled to elect a successor to Uther-pendragon, Arthur — then a mere squire — lay with his sister (unnamed), not knowing who she was, and begot Mordred. She, on her part, in the darkness, thought that her bed-fellow was her husband. All students of the Vulgate cycle are agreed that *Merlin*-continuation was composed later than any other part of the cycle — consequently, this account is indisputably a mere development of suggestions which the author received from the passages concerning Mordred's incestuous birth in the *Lancelot* and *Mort Artu*.

8. The *Huth-Merlin* [3]. Here [4], too, we have an account of Mordred's incestuous birth, which differs however, in some particulars from that which is found in the Vulgate *Merlin*-continuation. In this place, also, the brother and sister are unaware of their true relationship to one another, but we are rather left to infer that the cohabitation took place with the consent of the latter (unnamed). According to this text, the affair occured a month after Arthur's coronation. Now, despite the contention of Gaston Paris and Brugger, the *Merlin*-continuation of the Huth MS. is unquestionably dependent on that of the Vulgate cycle [5] — hence the account just outlined is plainly a mere modification of the one in the Vulgate.

1. Sommer, II, 88 (line 19) — 466.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 128 f.

3. Edited for S. A. T. F. by G. Paris and J. Ulrich, 1886. This contains the *Merlin*-continuation of the so-called Robert de Boron prose cycle.

4. I, 147 f.

5. Cp. E. Vettermann, *Die Balendichtungen und ihre Quellen*, p. 271 f. (1918).

It will be manifest, I believe, from this discussion that the famous conception which forms the subject of the present article originated with the author of the *Mort Artu*.

THE DATE, SOURCE, AND SUBJECT OF THE ARTHURIAN SCULPTURE AT MODENA

ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS

In 1898 Foerster directed the attention of philologists to an Arthurian sculpture over the north doorway of Modena cathedral, a sculpture hitherto known only to archaeologists and students of architecture [1]. The best reproductions of it so far published are to be found in my article in the *Art Bulletin* (Providence, R. I.), March 1924 [2]. It forms a semicircular band in high relief. In the middle is a fortress consisting of a central tower, a wall, a moat, and on each side a barbican. Within the fortress are a man labeled Mardoc and a woman labeled Winlogee, both in a state of terror.

1. *Zeitschr. f. Rom. Phil.*, XXII, 243, 526.

2. Other good reproductions in Bertoni, *Atlante Storico-Paleografico del Duomo di Modena*, pl. X; *Atlante Storico-Artistico*, 46 f; C. Martin, *Art roman en Italie*, I, pl. 47; Bédier et Hazard, *Histoire illustrée*, 18.

Before the left barbican stands a man, Burmaltus, brandishing a *baculus cornutus*. Three mounted knights come charging against him, — Artus de Bretania, Isdernus, and another unnamed. From the right barbican rides out a knight, Carrado, and against him ride three knights, Galvagin*us*, Galvariun, and Che[1].

Foerster at that time gave a series of notes on the names, and detected in the sculpture a lost version of the episode of Carado of the Dolorous Tower, which the author of the prose *Lancelot* a hundred years later adapted to his purposes, assigning to Lancelot the role of chief rescuer, originally given to Gawain[2].

Colfi's attempt, in his otherwise valuable study[3], to connect the sculpture with *Dumart le Gallois* involved several violent strains on probability. Though both scholars were close, neither identified the precise subject, which as I shall show later is one of the many versions of the abduction and rescue of Guinevere.

The date of the relief is a crux in the history both of Arthurian romance and of Romanesque sculpture. Foerster assigned it to the first decade of the twelfth century. If he is right, we are compelled to believe that stories of Arthur had penetrated beyond Celtic territory and as far as Italy before William of Malmesbury and Geoffrey of Monmouth had begun to record and elaborate these materials in England, on the very verge of Celtic Wales ; and seventy years before Crestien

1. The name forms are not given correctly by Foerster, Mâle. or Bédier.

2. H. O. Sommer, *Vulgate Version*, IV, 129-137.

3. *Di una recente interpretazione data alle sculture dell'archivolto nella porta settentrionale del duomo di Modena*, reprinted from *Atti e memorie del R. deputazione di storia patria per le provincie modenesi*, ser. IV, vol. 9, 133-252. See criticism of Colfi in *Memorie della regia accademia di scienze, lettere ed arti in Modena*, ser. III, vol. 8, 167.

de Troyes wrote his romances. Arthurian students seemed inclined to accept Foerster's dating. Malavasi in 1901 spoke of the sculpture as « without doubt anterior to the years 1135 and 1139 »[1]. Fletcher in 1906 said that the priority of the Modena relief to Geoffrey was « pretty conclusively shown »[2].

But Miss Weston in 1901 referred it to the middle of the twelfth century[3], and of late there has been a tendency to bring the sculpture down to the end. M. Mâle wrote : « C'est à la même époque que fut sculptée l'archivolte de la cathédrale de Modène, où sont représentés quelques-uns des héros de ce cycle Breton que la France commençait alors à faire connaître à l'Europe. Il y a donc eu à Modène, vers la fin du douzième siècle, une colonie d'artistes formés en Provence et peut-être même Provençaux »[4]. And M. Faral spoke of « l'an 1200, époque où apparaissent aussi, au portail nord de la cathédrale de Modène, les figures d'Ider » etc[5].

Both these gentlemen have withdrawn from this extreme position, M. Mâle to 1160[6], and M. Faral to 1180[7]. And the weight of authority is in favor of a still earlier date. Professor Bertoni, author of the indispensable *Atlante Storico-Paleografico* and *Atlante Storico-Artistico* of Modena cathedral, refers the sculpture to the first half of the twelfth century[8]. Professor Toesca of the University of Florence, author of *La Pittura e la Miniatura nella Lombardia* and co-author of *La Storia*

1. G. Malavasi, *Materia poetica del ciclo brettone in Italia*. 19.
2. R. H. Fletcher, *Arthurian Materials in the Chronicles*, 102.
3. J. L. Weston, *Legend of Sir Lancelot*, 4.
4. *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, per. IV, vol. 14, 44.
5. E. Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines*, 395.
6. E. Mâle, *Art religieux du douzième siècle*, 269 n.
7. Bédier et Hazard, *Histoire illustrée* (1923), 18.
8. Bertoni, *Atl. Stor.-Art.*, xviii.

dell'Arte Classica e Italiana writes me : « La porta della Pescheria mi sembra della prima metà del secolo XII, e assai prossimo a Wiligelmo, sebbene di altro artista ». Professor Porter of Harvard, author of the sumptuous and thorough-going *Lombard Architecture* and *Romanesque Sculpture*, has assured me of his firm conviction that the Porta della Pescheria is work of the early twelfth century [1]. Since each of these scholars has made a special study of Lombard art, it may be granted that their authority outweighs that of M. Mâle, who, though his contributions to French archaeology are masterpieces of learning and appreciation, has not consecrated any work to Lombardy.

Nevertheless, since on neither side has there appeared a thorough discussion of the evidence, and since the question is of great importance for the history of sculpture and of medieval romance, I propose to examine the matter from all sides and hope to demonstrate more conclusively than has been done hitherto that the archivolt was carved between 1099 and 1106. I furthermore believe, with Professor Porter, that the sculptor came from Bari in Apulia, and was either Wiligelmus himself, the father of Lombard sculpture, or more probably, an assistant.

In the first place, was it possible that an Arthurian story should have been known outside Celtic territory before 1106? There has been a certain tendency to minimize the share of the « Bretons » in the *matière de Bretagne*. One is told that Crestien made up his romances almost wholly out of his own head, and Marie de France was merely romancing when she refers to the *Bretons* and their lais. Of the Arthurian romances themselves, a recent authority declares : « Dans la mesure où ceux-ci doivent quelque chose à une autre

1. See also his *Lombard Architecture*, I, 269; III, 44.

source que la seule imagination de leurs auteurs, ce n'est pas à des poèmes celtiques qu'ils se rattachent; c'est à une œuvre de clerc », viz : the *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth [1]. Such a conclusion can be arrived at only by ignoring the demonstrated presence of Celtic folklore and myth in Crestien, in *Tristan*, and in some of Marie's lais [2]. And these Celtic themes could not have been broadcasted by radio from Caerleon and St. Michael's Mount and Carhaix. Accordingly, when Marie says in *Lanval*, « Ceo nus recuntent li Bretun » ; when Wace mentions the Table Round, « dont Breton dient mainte fable » ; when even the notorious Geoffrey says that the deeds of Arthur and his successors « a multis populis quasi inscripta jucunde et memoriter prædicentur » ; when William of Malmesbury says, « Hic est Artur de quo Britonum nugæ hodieque delirant, dignus plane quem non fallaces somniarent fabulæ sed veraces prædicarent historiæ » ; I must believe them because even if this united testimony did not exist, one would have to hypothecate the existence of just such stories and a means of transmission to account for the Celtic element in Arthurian romance. I have every confidence and belief in the existence of a Bleheris or Bledhericus, a famous Welsh *fabulator*, who visited Count William VIII of Poitou, bringing with him some Breton traditions [3]. The three entirely independent testimonies we have as to his activity cannot be set aside as lightly as they have been.

1. Bédier et Hazard, *Hist. ill.* (1923), 19.

2. *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, VIII ; *Pub. M. L. A.*, XX, 673; *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 109 ; *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, 377; R. Zenker, *Zur Mabinogionfrage* ; *Zts. f. Celt. Phil.*, XII, 1 ; Schœpperle, *Tristan and Isolt* ; Mary R. Williams, *Composition du roman gallois de Peredur* ; J. Loth, *Mabinogion*, ed. 2, 50 ff. See articles of Professors Brown and Nitze in this volume.

3. *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIX, 319.

But there is the further issue : how early did these traditions penetrate into Anglo-Norman and French society ? In the *Annals of Mont St. Michel*, written by a monk of Breton sympathies, the first entry reads, « CCCCXXI.... His diebus fuit Artus Rex Britannorum fortis et facetus [1]. » Now these *Annals* close with the year 1056; there is therefore a presumption that in the eleventh century Arthur had begun to be heard of in Normandy. But we have a more unquestionable proof in the well-known account, written about 1150, of the visit of the monks from Laon to Bodmin in 1113. Here, after the customary characterization of Arthur as « illius famosi secundum fabulas Britannorum regis », we have this significant statement : « Britones solent iurgari cum Francis pro rege Arturo [2]. » For some years, then, the « hope of Britain », the return of Arthur, had been a familiar theme in Northern France, and doubtless the other *fabulæ* were also known. This testimony, added to that of Geoffrey of Monmouth and William of Malmesbury, justifies us in believing that by 1100 the Arthurian stories were spreading into England and Northern France.

To the Arthurian student the sculpture itself offers internal evidence of its early character. If it is post-Crestien, as M. Faral believes, why do we not see here any of Crestien's heroes ? Where are Erec, Cliges, Ivain, Lancelot, Perceval ? Why do we find instead some of the oldest figures connected with Arthur ? Most significant is the fact that the form Isdernus preserves the final *n* of the Welsh, which has been lost in the French form Ider. It would seem that the Modena sculpture represents an archaic stage in Arthurian tradition.

1. R. H. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 34 ; Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CCII, col. 1323.

2. *Zts. f. Fr. Spr.*, XIII, 106 ; Migne, CLVI, col. 983.

The archaeological evidence not only confirms this view : it even places the sculpture definitely in the first decade of the twelfth century. We have a contemporary record of the building of Modena cathedral, the *Relatio Translationis Corporis Sancti Geminiani*. It states that the edifice was begun in 1099, and that before the body of San Gimignano was deposited in it in 1106, the walls were erected and certain sculptures executed. « Fundamentorum fabrica iam usque ad superiora provecta... Effodiuntur marmora, insignia sculpuntur ac puliuntur arte mirifica, sublevantur et construuntur magno cum labore et artificium astutia. Crescunt ergo parietes, crescit aedificium » [1]. It must be granted, however, that the archivolt of the Porta della Pescheria is not specifically mentioned, and that a later passage indicates that there was still work to be done on the cathedral after the translation. We must therefore look further.

If one could take the Porta della Pescheria as a unit, it would be easy to show that the jamb sculptures form a close parallel to the sculptures of the Porta Principale on the west façade, and though somewhat cruder are certainly contemporary. And since the Porta Principale is universally admitted to be as archaic as any sculptural work on the cathedral, one would be forced to the conclusion that the Porta della Pescheria belonged also to this earliest period of activity. But Professor Bertoni has very kindly emphasized for my benefit the obvious fact that the archivolt does not fit the rest of the Porta della Pescheria, the diameter of the inner edge of the archivolt being 1.60 meters, and the space between the jambs being 1.88 meters. He has also been good enough to communicate to me his new and highly plausible theory that the archivolt is the remnant

1. Bertoni, *Atl. Stor.-Pal.*, 88 ; Colfi, *op. cit.*, 47.

of a portal on the south, for which the present Porta Regia was substituted in the thirteenth century. While, therefore, I believe both archivolt and jambs of the Porta della Pescheria belong to the same early period of sculptural activity at Modena, my reason for so dating the archivolt is different from that which governs the dating of the lintel and jambs, and is considerably stronger.

To be sure, one may compare the archivolt directly with the very fine sculptures on the façade generally acknowledged to be the work of the master-sculptor Wiligelmus, whose contemporary fame is attested by an inscription and who is now regarded as the father of Romanesque sculpture in Lombardy. In spite of the great difference in subject matter one can detect a similarity between Burmaltus and the figure of Cain bringing his sheaf to the altar, similarities also in drapery and treatment of the hair, and the common use of the double-ax pattern to represent water. These do not justify more than a tentative acceptance of Professor Porter's opinion that the archivolt is the work of Wiligelmus and his assistant working together [1]. But certainly, there is nothing to suggest that the Arthurian archivolt was later than the work of Wiligelmus.

Now Wiligelmus labored at Modena, as most historians of art admit, between the dates given by the *Relatio*, 1099-1106. This dating has been confirmed by Professor Porter's convincing demonstration that the same hand was at work at Cremona between 1107 and 1117 [2]. But in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1918, p. 35, M. Mâle tried to prove that Wiligelmus imitated the sculptures of St. Denis, and therefore worked after 1140. He places on the same page a figure from

1. *Lomb. Arch.*, III, 44.
2. *Ibid.*, II, 386 f.

the Noah sculptures at Modena and a figure of a king, formerly at St. Denis, both holding their draperies in a strange way. Three explanations are possible : St. Denis influenced Modena; Modena influenced St. Denis; both were touched by a third influence. M. Mâle ignores all but the first possibility. But even he must grant that the French master possesses a far more developed style. Wiligelmus' work is lumpish, stiff, Romanesque : the St. Denis king is clearly in the proto-Gothic tradition. I venture to say that any connoisseur of sculptural style, asked to pronounce on the priority of the two works, would declare without hesitation for the Lombard relief. M. Mâle's own evidence is to my mind a demonstration that Wiligelmus was active before 1140.

But apart from debatable questions of style and authorship, the Arthurian relief furnishes conclusive proof of its early date in the type of helmet worn by the six knights. It is a lamentable fact that we have no satisfactory history of costume for this period, no work which furnishes accurate criteria for dating. I had never been able to understand how M. Mâle could assign this portal to the end of the twelfth century until I read this statement of his : « Le livre de Demay, intitulé *Le costume d'après les sceaux*, nous donne ce qui manque trop souvent à Viollet-le-Duc et même à Quicherat : des dates précises. Les sceaux sont datés par les documents sur lesquels ils sont apposés, de sorte qu'une suite de sceaux, rangés par ordre chronologique, nous présente l'évolution même du costume pendant une période déterminée. Jamais encore on n'ayait apporté autant de rigueur à ces études » [1].

1. *Gaz. d. Beaux Arts*, per. IV, vol. 13, p. 384. M. Mâle does not seem to know Druitt's *Costume on Brasses*, a more reliable work than Demay's.

Now it is apparent that the dating of costumes by means of seals so dated possesses little of the rigor which M. Mâle claims for it. The precise dates are most misleading. For a moment's reflection will show that the date of the document to which a certain seal is attached gives us only a *terminus ad quem* for the making of the seal. But the actual date of the seal and consequently of the costume depicted on it will often be twenty or thirty years, and in rare cases as much as fifty years older. In looking at Demay, therefore, one must be prepared to subtract from the date assigned to the seal any number of years, perhaps five, perhaps fifty, to arrive at the period of the costume represented. Specific examples of misleading dates can be pointed out. On p. 126 the seal of Eudes de Bourgogne is displayed with the date 1348, but the style of his armor antedates the great change which began about 1325. On p. 127 Demay says : « L'ailette paraît pour la première fois sur le sceau de Pierre de Chambly en 1294 ». But ailettes may be seen in the *Psautier de St. Louis*, which M. Omont dates between 1252 and 1270 [1].

Reliance on Demay's work is therefore bound to lead M. Mâle to strange conclusions. For instance, the Roland mosaic, formerly at Brindisi, is definitely placed by an inscription in the year 1178 [2]. No one had doubts on the matter until M. Mâle, noting that the destriers of the paladins were covered with housings, and presumably finding in Demay no housings before

1. H. Omont, *Psautier de S. Louis*, ii.

2. E. Bertaux, *Art dans l'Italie méridionale*, I, 493; *Romania*, XXVI, 56. Professor Porter very kindly substantiated in the episcopal archives at Brindisi these facts : the inscription which ran down the centre of the nave stated explicitly that the pavement was executed in 1178, and the Carolingian scenes formed part of that pavement.

1217, announces « une date voisine de 1215 ou 1220 »[1]. As I have pointed out elsewhere, Wace in his *Roman de Rou* (1160-74) speaks of a destrier « tot covert de fer »[2]. Heinrich von Veldeke in his *Eneit*, completed in 1189, describes a « decke » of samite[3]. I have shown also that the description of Tristram's housings as red embroidered with golden lions, given by Brother Robert in his *Tristramssaga* of 1226 is derived from Thomas's *Tristan*[4], which M. Bédier would date before 1170, and which is certainly not more than thirty years later. In the last decade of the twelfth century both Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's *Lanzelet*[5] and Hartmann von Aue's *Erec*[6] describe decorated housings, and the illuminations of Petrus de Ebulo's *De Rebus Siculis* (*Liber in Honorem Augusti*) depict them[7]. Demay's use of the seals does not furnish reliable criteria, and is probably one of the factors responsible for the tendency of French archaeologists to assign too late a dating to their monuments[8].

There is another objection to the seals as evidence on twelfth century costume. At this period, they are so crude in execution, and often so worn that one cannot depend on them for more than the most general features. On matters of detail they are almost worthless. Luckily we have other sources to consult for reliable data on costume and armor — the illuminated manuscripts.

If we look at the Bible of Stephen Harding in the

1. Mâle, *Art du* XII^e *siècle*, 266.
2. L. 7512.
3. Ed. Behaghel, l. 5276.
4. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XVII, 24.
5. L. 4414.
6. L. 7582.
7. Ed. E. Rota, pl. 36, 39; ed. G. B. Siragusa, pl. 36, 39.
8. Porter, *Rom. Sculp.*, I, chap. I.

Municipal Library of Dijon, ms. 14, which we know was illuminated at Citeaux in 1109, we find a knight clad in armor which in all essential respects corresponds to that worn by the five knights of the Modena relief[1]. On fol. 13r Goliath wears a hauberk, extending to the wrists and covering the chin, like those at Modena. The fact that the hauberk of the ms. is covered with small circles, while the hauberks of the sculpture are covered with squares with a dot in the middle of each, does not point to any difference in date. For both patterns are found on the Bayeux « Tapestry » (ca. 1070), and on the next page of the Dijon ms. itself we find crosshatched and ringed hauberks side by side[2]. Goliath's shield slung from a guige over his right shoulder corresponds in shape to the shields at Modena. (It may be noted that of the latter, four only present their outer face, and that of these, three show no decorative design, thus suggesting an early date). The pennons which hang from Artus' and Galvaginus' spears, except for the fact that they have three instead of four points, correspond to a pennon hanging from a spear depicted on fol. 13v of the Dijon ms[2]. But the most significant feature of the comparison lies in the helmets. All the helmets of the Modena sculpture except Che's are of the conical type with nasal, exactly like that worn by Goliath in the Dijon ms. This type, which in profile produces the outline of an isosceles triangle, had prevailed for at least forty years, since the Bayeux « Tapestry » witnesses to its general use about 1070[3]. It is the main type seen on the Modena relief. But the Dijon ms. of 1109 shows the beginnings of a change.

1. See figs. 1 and 2.

2. Fig. 3. See also A. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, part I, II, 299.

3. I have proved this dating in an article in the *Art Bulletin*, VI, 6, 7.

Fig. 1.
Galvariun, Modena.

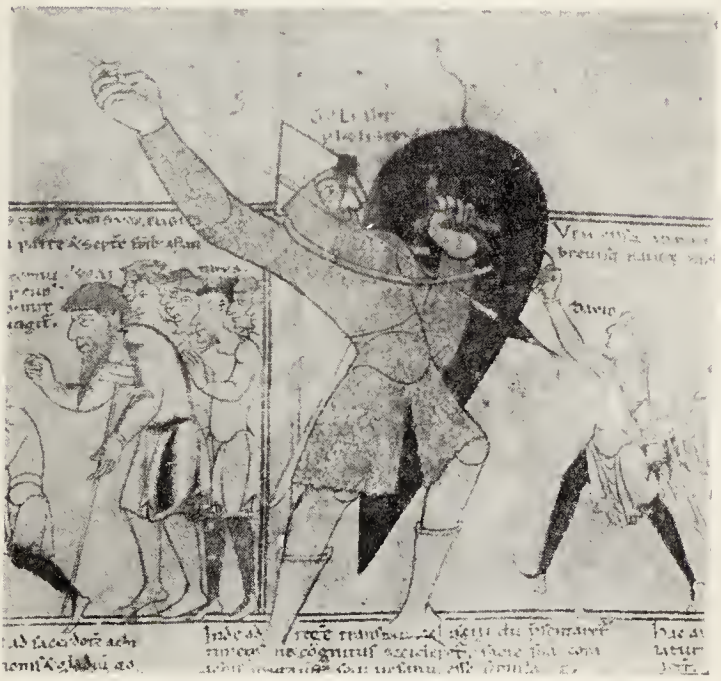


Fig. 2.
Bible of Stephen Harding, Fol. 13 r. Date 1109.

Fig. 3.
Bible of Stephen Harding, Fol. 13 v. Date 1109.

While on folio 13r Goliath wears the pure conical type, on the next page many of the helmets show a concave tendency in the outline of the front, and several show the apex of the triangle pushed forward so that the two sides are no longer equal. The year 1109, then, shows the appearance of a new fashion in helmets, a fashion of which there is hardly a trace in the Modena sculpture. This new style must have completely supplanted the old, for after extensive researches I have not found a single helmet with the profile of an isosceles triangle in any ms. or monument of the twelfth century definitely assigned to a date later than 1109.

A mosaic of 1122-24 at Ganagobie, Basses-Alpes, depicts a helmet with convex sides [1]. A relief at Angoulême cathedral, carved before 1128, shows helmets with unequal sides [2]. A particular type of helmet with low front and rounded back is worn by the knights in combat of the St. Albans Psalter, drawn before 1146 [3]; by Goliath in St. Aubin cloister, Angers, of about 1145 [4] and in a German ms. of 1148 [5]; by Geoffrey of Anjou in the well-known enamel of about 1151; by a soldier in an Evangelary at Padua cathedral of 1170 [6]. That the same style prevailed also in Italy is proved not only by the last citation, but also by the statue of Roland at Verona cathedral and the knights in combat at San Zeno, both probably belonging to the decade 1130-40 [7]. In conclusion, the helmets of the Arthurian

1. *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques*, 1910, 323, pl. LVI.
2. Porter, *Rom. Sculp.*, VII, 939: I, 307.
3. A. Goldschmidt, *Albani Psalter*; Michel, *Hist. de l'art*, part I, II, 311.
4. Porter, *Rom. Sculp.*, VII, 1069; I, 341.
5. Hewitt, *Ancient Armour*, I, 135.
6. M. Bernath, *Malerei des Mittelalters*, fig. 203.
7. Porter, *Lomb. Arch.*, IV, pl. 217, 229; Bédier et Hazard, *Hist. ill.* (1923), 8. For date see Porter, *Rom. Sculp.*, I, xxii.

sculpture at Modena are of a style which was going out in the year 1109. This fact completely vindicates the assignment of the sculpture to the years between 1099 and 1106.

The clue to the subject of the sculpture lies in the name Winlogee. This seems to be a variant of the Breton name which occurs as Winlowen or Uuenlouuen as early as the ninth century and means « blanc et joyeux » [1]. But its significance does not become apparent until we note that in the *De Ortu Walwanii* [2] Arthur's wife is quite unaccountably called Gwendoloena. Furthermore, in the Berne *Folie Tristan*, ll. 234 ff. Yder is said to be the lover of Guenievre, whereas in the romance of *Yder* the hero is the lover of Guenloie — a name which Foerster identified with Winlogee. But the suspicion that Winlogee-Guenloie-Gwendoloena is identical with Guinevere becomes a certainty when we note that the *Yder* romance, while preserving the tradition of Yder's love for Guenloie, also bears clear marks of a similar relation between him and Arthur's queen. As Gelzer puts it : « Yder ist zwar nicht mehr der Geliebte Genievrens, an mehreren Stellen schimmert aber doch die Errinerung daran durch » [3]. Obviously the author of the romance, confronted by inconsistent traditions regarding the name of Yder's beloved, has solved the difficulty by making Guinevere and Guenloie two persons. The name Winlogee, then, represents a Breton substitution of a more familiar and mellifluous sound for the Welsh Gwenhwyvar. It could not have obtained a wide currency and eventually vanished before the more authentic forms.

1. A. de la Borderie, *Hist. de Bretagne*, II, 280 ; J. Loth, *Chrestomathie Bretonne*, 147.

2. Ed. J. D. Bruce, 85.

3. *Yderroman*, ed. H. Gelzer, lvi ff.

Now that we have detected in this woman, imprisoned in a castle with two entrances, Arthur's queen Guinevere, there cannot be much doubt that the sculpture depicts one of her abductions. I am publishing in the *Romanic Review* a fuller analysis of the story and its sources. Here I only note that the version carved at Modena is a fusion of two earlier versions, one of which is incorporated in *Durmart le Gallois* [1], and the other, contaminated by a famous tradition of the rescue of Gawain from prison by Lancelot, turns up as the episode of Carado of the Dolorous Tower in the *Prose Lancelot* [2]. The *Durmart* account of the abduction of Guinevere shares with the sculptured story the following details : Ider wears no armor; the castle is surrounded by a wide moat or marsh; shields are hung from the keep ; the queen is found with her lover in the castle. The Carado story from the *Prose Lancelot* not only opens like the *Durmart* abduction, it also affords marked resemblances in detail to the Modena sculpture. Carrado is the chief defender of the castle ; it has two opposite entrances ; before one of them stands a « grant vilain » ; the rescuers of Winlogee — Artus, Che, and Galvariun — correspond to Arthur, Kay, and Galeschin (a manuscript corruption formed by assimilation to *galesche*). Let me now trace the story of the sculpture as reconstructed with the help of the two romances.

Winlogee, Artus' queen, went out into the meadows to divert herself. Idern, who accompanied her, rode unarmed. A giant knight Carrado rode out of the forest, seized the queen, set her before him, struck down Idern, and rode away. He came to a castle standing in the midst of a wide marsh, accessible only by

1. *Durmart le Gallois*, ed. E. Stengel, l. 4185-340.
2. H. O. Sommer, *Vulgate Version*, IV, 87-139.

two opposite bridges. He delivered up the queen to his brother Mardoc, who had long been in love with her. Meantime, Idern had returned to the court, raised the alram, and himself set off without putting on a hauberk or helmet, merely seizing spear and shield, On arriving before one of the bridges, he and Artus were held up by a gigantic ruffian Burmalt, swinging a *baston cornu*. At the other bridge Artus' knights were met by Carrado himself. He probably overthrew Galvariun and Che, but Galvagin, the greatest knight of all, drove Carrado back into the castle, struggled with him long on foot, until finally his sword was broken. Carrado's mistress placed within his reach Carrado's sword, with which alone the giant could be killed, and so Galvagin slew him. Galvagin, proceeding further into the castle, noted on the keep the shields of knights slain by Carrado. Finally he discovered Winlogee with the enchanter Mardoc. Mardoc entreated the queen's mercy and at her intercession Galvagin spared his life. The queen was then led out, free once more, to her husband.

How came this Arthurian story so early to Modena? M. Mâle points out that Modena lay on the Via Francigena, the Frenchmen's Way to Rome, and that the French jongleurs might well have brought the story direct from home [1]. It is certain, however, that the story came by a longer route.

In the first place, a peculiar architectural relation exists between the cathedral of Modena and San Niccola at Bari, begun in 1087. To quote Professor Porter: « At Modena we find a sharp turning away from the vaulted type of church, which had been in use up to that date in Lombardy. The introduction of a wooden roof at Modena, the design of the false triforium gal-

1. *Art du* XII^e *siècle*, 270.

lery, the columns of the intermediate piers — all features hitherto unaccounted for — must be ascribed to the influence of San Niccola » [1]. Secondly, Professor Porter has pointed out a relationship between the acknowledged sculptures of Wiligelmus and the supporting figures on the throne at San Niccola, dated 1098 [2]. Besides some general stylistic parallels in treatment of hair, drapery, face, there is a more striking resemblance between the crouching figure betwen Cain and Abel at Modena and the left supporter of the Bari throne. The attitudes are identical, the fall of the lap draperies similar. It would seem as if these throne supporters had left a strong impression on Wiligelmus for he has introduced similar figures on both jambs of the Porta della Pescheria, and of the Porta Principale. Finally the Arthurian archivolt itself has its counterpart in the Porta dei Leoni at San Niccola [3]. In both archivolts there is a fortress in the center with its defenders, and a group of galloping horsemen attacking from each side. It has been generally assumed that the Bari sculpture is the later. Professor Porter, though he has tentatively subscribed to this view in print [4], nevertheless has personally informed me that he sees no reason why the order should not be reversed. In fact, he has himself pointed out that the Bari knights are not so well protected as those at Modena, since they have no nasals and their hauberks do not cover their

1. *Rom. Sculp.*, I, 67.

2. *Ibid.*, 66; *Burlington Magazine*, XLIII, 63.

3. Fig. *ibid.*, III, 156; Venturi, *Storia dell'arte*, III, 163; Wackernagel, *Plastik des XI und XII Jh. in Apulien*, pl. XXVII, d, e. In spite of the similarity of the composition, the subject of this sculpture does not seem to be that of the Modena relief. It contains no figures which correspond to Winlogee and Mardoc.

4. *Rom. Sculp.*, I, 64, 66. On p. 62, however, it is said to be « certainly anterior to 1105 ».

chins [1]. More conclusive, however, as to date, is the fact that when Artus, Carrado, and Galvaginus are about to encounter their antagonists, they lower their lances and carry them hugged to the body; whereas the one knight at Bari who seems to adjust his lance to the encounter — the third from the left — carries it poised at the height of his shoulder. This indicates a quite distinct technique in the manipulation of the lance, and as M. Levé has shown [2], it is the latter method that prevails on the Bayeux Embroidery (ca. 1070). The evidence of the arms and armor and the comparative crudity of the sculpture suggest that the Bari archivolt is earlier than that at Modena. It seems, then, likely that Wiligelmus and his assistants knew the recent sculptures at San Niccola, and carried with them distinct memories, which they translated into stone, when at the end of the century they went north and undertook their work at Modena [3].

Wiligelmus himself was probably a Norman by blood, naturally enough since the Normans had held Bari for many decades. The name was common among the Normans, and it is probably more than a coincidence that the closest parallel to the form *Wiligelmus* is that of *Wilgelmus* found on the Bayeux Embroidery. Nowhere else, though I have hunted widely, have I found the name with a medial G, not even among other Norman documents. Since, however, the execution of the Bayeux Embroidery was Anglo-Saxon [4],

1. *Ibid.*, 163.

2. *Bulletin monumental*, 1913, 130.

3. I do not, of course, exclude other influences, such as the Ottonian illuminations pointed out by Prof. Morey in *Art Bulletin*, II, 14; or those indicated by Prof. Toesca, in Rizzo e Toesca, *Storia dell'arte classica e italiana*, 759 ff. and by Prof. Porter himself in *Lomb. Arch.*, I, 271 ff.

4. See my article in the *Art Bulletin*, VI, 3, 4.

and the inscription at Modena giving the form Wiligelmus may well have been cut by a Lombard sculptor, the medial G may be an attempt by a non-Norman to represent a sound of which the Normans themselves were not conscious. With that name and that orthography, Wiligelmus may plausibly be regarded as a Norman.

Oddly enough, Bari was the one place in all Italy where these sculptors would have been most likely to pick up a Breton tale. For Alan Fergant, Duke of Brittany, Ralph de Gael, Conan de Lamballe, Riou de Loheac, and Alan, steward of Archbishop Baldric of Dol, spent four months of the winter of 1096-7 at Bari on their way to the First Crusade [1]. They formed part of the contingent of Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy, of whom William of Malmesbury unsympathetically records : « Pecuniam infinitam mimorum et nebulonum sinibus ingessit » [2]. It is perhaps no rash conjecture that one of the « mimes » into whose laps Robert scattered his coin was the story-teller who inspired the Modena sculpture.

This early advent of Arthur to Southern Italy is rendered more credible by the fact that we find him represented on the pavement at Otranto, dated 1163-66. At a period when Crestien de Troyes had not yet written *Erec* for the courtly public of Northern France, Arthur was already so well known at Otranto that he appears beside such old-timers as Alexander the Great and Noah [3].

After considering the foregoing evidence for Arthur's established prestige in Italy in the first half of the twelfth century, one cannot brush aside lightly, as

1. C. W. David, *Robert Curthose*, 97.
2. *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1890, 208.
3. *Studi medievali*, II, 507 stet.

some have done, the proper names discovered in Italian documents by Senator Rajna many years ago [1]. I have heard but one argument against their validity as evidence, namely, the fact that children christened Artus or Gauvain are not mentioned at the same early period in French documents. The argument seems to rest on an assumption that the Italians were incapable of originating such a custom themselves, and I think there are not many who will accept the assumption.

That France was the intermediary between the Celtic world and Italy is not disputed. But the epoch at which « la France commençait à faire connaître à l'Europe le cycle Breton » should be placed at the end not of the twelfth century but of the eleventh.

1. *Romania*, XVII, 161, 355.

DE LA VALEUR HISTORIQUE DU DE EXCIDIO ET CONQUESTU BRITANNIAE DE GILDAS

FERDINAND LOT

La valeur historique de l'opuscule du « plus sage des Bretons »[1] ne fait plus aujourd'hui illusion à personne[2]. Cependant j'estime qu'on exagère encore le

1. C'est ainsi que le qualifie déjà Alcuin dans une lettre à Aethelhard, archevêque de Cantorbery, de l'année 793 (éd. Jaffé, p. 206). Cf. Mommsen, p. 21.

2. Voy. Joseph Loth, *L'émigration bretonne en Armorique* (1883), p. 28. On retrouve une tendance apologétique dans le mémoire sans critique d'Arthur de La Borderie, *Saint Gildas l'historien des Bretons*, paru dans ses *Études historiques bretonnes* (1884, p. 217-372) — et même jusqu'à un certain point, dans l'ouvrage de M. Hugh Williams, *Gildas*, publié à Londres en 1899 et 1921 (*Cymmrodorion record Series*, vol. 3) qui consiste en une reproduction de l'édition Mommsen, accompagnée d'une traduction et de notes historiques et philologiques des plus profitables. — Dans une copieuse étude, intitulée *État des îles Britanniques au moment de l'invasion saxonne*, parue en 1857 dans les *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions* (*Savants étrangers*,

« résidu » historique qu'on peut retirer du fatras du *De excidio*[1] et je vais m'efforcer de le prouver[2].

Dans la préface (*epistola*), « faite de pleurs plutôt que de phrases, en un style détestable, mais sans mauvaise intention », l'auteur explique son dessein. Il n'écrit pas dans un sentiment de mépris pour le prochain et pour se préférer aux autres, mais par compassion pour les malheurs de son pays et pour

1re série, t.V, p. 1-270), Varin s'est donné un mal infini pour tenter de tirer de l'histoire de l'opuscule de Gildas. — Je ne me sens pas le courage de discuter l'hypothèse fantastique de M. Alfred Anscombe qui attribue l'œuvre à un moine du Nord-Galles qui l'aurait exécutée entre 640 et 681 (*Academy*, 8 septembre 1895). Les arguments à l'appui de cette thèse ont été réfutés par la plume autorisée de W. H. Stevenson (*ibid.*, 26 octobre, p. 340). Voy. aussi Hugh Williams, p. 63, note 3. Le petit volume de l'abbé Fonssagrives, paru dans la collection des *Saints*, est un ouvrage d'édification. [M. J. Chevalier voit dans Gildas un *revivalist* dans son volume *Essai sur la formation de la nationalité et les réveils religieux au pays de Galles des origines à la fin du sixième siècle*, Lyon-Paris, 1923].

1. On ne sait quel titre Gildas a donné à son opuscule. Mommsen a repris celui qu'il porte dans les premières éditions et qui est conforme au contenu de l'œuvre, dans l'édition qu'il a publiée avec le concours de H. Zimmer pour les *Monumenta Germaniae*, *Auctores Antiquissimi*, t. XIII, pars I (*Chronica minora*, vol. III, 1), Berolini, 1894, in-4°, p. 25-85. Cf. son introduction p. 10.

Dans sa *Vie de saint Paul Aurélien*, terminée en 884 (*Revue Celtique*, t. V, p. 421), Gourmonoc, désigne l'ouvrage de Gildas par le titre énigmatique *Ormesta Britanniae*. M. Gaidoz voit dans *ormesta* une déformation du mot britannique *gormes* « oppression ». En réalité ce mot sert déjà de titre dans les plus anciens manuscrits à l'ouvrage d'Orose : *Hormesta* ou *Ormista mundi* (voy. Mommsen, p. 22, note 1; Aug. Molinier, *Sources de l'histoire de France*, t. I, n° 130). A l'origine j'imagine une cacographie : *de miseria mundi*, écrit en onciale où le *d* ressemble à un o, et avec abréviation effacée de la syllabe *er*, a été lu *ormesia*, puis *ormesta*.

2. Les pages qui suivent résument quelques leçons faites à l'École des Hautes Etudes, il y a déjà longtemps (1907-1908).

indiquer le remède à ses misères. Pendant « deux lustres et davantage » il s'est tu. Enfin, profitant d'une période de paix extérieure, après l'écrasement des ennemis des Bretons, il s'acquitte comme d'une dette sacrée, d'une promesse faite à ses « frères » en mettant au jour une œuvre sans valeur, mais qui réjouira les combattants du Christ et contristera les apostats. Mais, auparavant[1], il traitera brièvement, avec l'aide de Dieu, des points suivants : [1] Situation de l'île de Bretagne, [2] « Contumace » des Bretons, [3] leur soumission à Rome, [4] leur rebellion, [5] nouvelle soumission et dure servitude, [6] de la venue du Christ, [7] des persécutions, [8] des martyrs, [9] de diverses hérésies, [10] des tyrans, [11] de deux nations dévastatrices, [12] défense de la Bretagne, [13] nouvelles dévastations, [14] seconde vengeance tirée des ennemis, [15] troisième invasion, [16] famine, [17] lettre à Aetius, [18] victoire, [19] crimes, [20] apparition subite de l'ennemi, [21] fléau célèbre, [22] résolution désastreuse, [23] arrivée d'un ennemi pire que les précédents, [24] destruction des villes, [25] destinée des Bretons, [26] leur victoire finale.

Jugeant inutile de nous astreindre à suivre pas à pas ces chapitres, nous les répartissons en quelques grandes divisions.

1° La Bretagne indépendante et romaine.

La description de l'île de Bretagne, poétique, très vague (les seuls noms géographiques sont ceux de la Tamise et de la Severn), ne nous arrêtera pas. Il est, d'ailleurs, possible qu'elle soit empruntée à quelque

1. Visiblement l'ouvrage se compose de deux parties. Mommsen aurait dû le signaler par une division matérielle dans son édition.

œuvre antérieure. En tous cas les dimensions attribuées à l'île (800 milles de long sur 200 de large) sont prises à Orose [1].

Le chapitre suivant *(de contumacia)* renferme une condamnation sévère de l'esprit de révolte des Bretons. Ayant lu dans saint Jérôme la phrase « Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum » [2], Gildas lui a donné une portée générale [3], alors qu'elle fait allusion aux usurpations de Carausius, Allectius, Maxime, etc. au IVe siècle.

La seule donnée chronologique sur la conquête romaine c'est qu'elle eut lieu après la « paix Parthique » [4]. C'est dans Orose [5] que Gildas a dû puiser la connaissance de la paix conclue par Tibère en l'an 20 avant notre ère. Orose met cet évènement en rapport avec le christianisme dont l'aurore va bientôt luire.

Mais, avant de parler de la Bretagne chrétienne, Gildas sent qu'il faut introduire l'histoire de la conquête de cette île par les Romains. Il le fait dans les chapitres III à V [6]. Il y a deux expéditions provoquées par la mauvaise foi non moins que par la lâcheté des Bretons. Ceux-ci sont entièrement soumis et la *Britannia* devient *Romania*. Tout ce qu'elle renferme d'airain, d'or, d'argent sert à faire les monnaies portant le nom de « César » [7].

Y a-t-il là une allusion, si déformée soit-elle, à la double campagne de César en Grande Bretagne ? C'est assez probable. Mais ce récit n'est qu'une suite de bévues. Les campagnes de César se placent en 55 et 54 avant notre ère et non entre la paix parthique et la naissance

1. *Adversus paganos*, I, 2, 77.
2. *Script. eccl. praef., ep.* 133, 9.
3. Il en attribue du reste la paternité à Porphyre (p. 29).
4. Ed. Mommsen, p. 29-30.
5. L. III, chap. 8, éd. Zangemeister, p. 153.
6. Voy. § 5 à 7 de l'éd. Mommsen.
7. *Caesar* peut désigner l'empereur ou « César ».

du Christ. Les Bretons ont opposé aux Romains une résistance acharnée et nullement une lâche résignation, et César a plutôt montré la Bretagne à Rome qu'il ne lui a donnée[1]. Enfin, la transformation en monnaie de la production des métaux précieux de l'île est un digne prélude des folies qui vont suivre : Gildas, sachant par expérience ou plutôt par une lecture[2], que la Bretagne ne produit pas de métaux précieux, voyant circuler, d'autre part, des monnaies impériales, a imaginé cette cocasse explication : il y a eu des mines, mais tout leur produit a été monnayé avec l'empreinte du conquérant. De la vraie conquête de la Bretagne, celle qui commença en l'an 43 après J.-C. sous la conduite d'Aulus Plautius et d'Ostorius Scapula (an 50), se continua avec Suetonius Paulinus (an 59), pour ne se terminer qu'en 84 avec Agricola[3], — Gildas ne sait rien, absolument rien. Il n'a lu ni César, ni Tacite, ni personne.

Tout cela est tellement inconcevable qu'on a tenté de sauver quelque chose. Hugh Williams[4] propose une interprétation, par exemple, de la «paix parthique» : elle serait une allusion à une trêve conclue par l'empereur Hadrien peu après 117. Les reproches de Gildas viseraient une révolte qui nécessita la présence d'Hadrien en Bretagne, présence pendant laquelle il ordonna de construire, entre la mer du Nord et la mer d'Irlande, le fameux rempart auquel son nom demeura attaché.

Mais 1° cette interprétation de la « paix parthique » est arbitraire ; 2° sous le règne d'Hadrien il n'y a pas

1. Tacite, *Agricola*, XIII.

2. Probablement de Cicéron qui informe ses amis que la Bretagne ne produit ni or ni argent (*Ad familiares*, VII, 7 ; *ad Atticum*, IV, 17).

3. Sur la Bretagne romaine, voy. la thèse de Fr. Sagot (Faculté des lettres de Besançon, 1911).

4. *Op. cit.*, p. 19, note 1, 38-39.

eu de « seconde soumission »[1] ; 3° Gildas ne sait rien d'Hadrien et il rapporte l'édification du rempart à propos d'évènements du v^e^ siècle ; 4° notre auteur suit l'ordre chronologique ; et comme il ne parle de la naissance et de l'expansion du christianisme qu'après le récit de la double conquête de l'île par les Romains, son absurde narration s'applique bien, dans son idée, à des événements antérieurs à l'ère chrétienne. Le système apologétique de Hugh Williams n'est donc pas soutenable. Il faut nous résigner à admettre que Gildas ne savait rien de l'histoire de la Bretagne avant J.-C. et rien non plus des trois premiers siècles de la domination romaine[2].

La Bretagne chrétienne.

Sur l'introduction du christianisme en Bretagne Gildas est mal informé[3]. Il ne connaît en fait de martyrs qu'Alban de Verulam, Aaron et Jules, « Legionum urbis cives ». Ces derniers étant demeurés célèbres à Caerleon dans le Sud-Galles[4], Gildas doit à la tradition d'en savoir l'existence. Quant à Alban, dont Verulam, alors en territoire Saxon, devait un jour prendre le nom (Saint Alban's), il le connaît par une *passio* fabuleuse[5], utilisée aussi par son contem-

1. Si l'on veut entendre par là l'expédition qui eut lieu sous le règne d'Antonin, celle-ci fut motivée par les attaques des Calédoniens et non des Bretons.

2. Lui-même ne s'en fait pas accroire. Voy. plus loin p. 35.

3. Sur la Bretagne chrétienne voy. H. Zimmer, *The celtic church in Britain and Ireland*, translated by A. Meyer, 1902 ; — dom Louis Gougaud, *Les chrétientés celtiques*, 1911 ; — F. E. Warren dans *Cambridge Medieval history*, vol. II, 1913, p. 496, 791.

4. Aujourd'hui dans le comté de Monmouth.

5. Voy. Levison dans *Neues Archiv*, t. XXIX, p. 148.

porain Fortunat [1] et plus tard par Bède le Vénérable [2]. Il place leur supplice sous le règne de Dioclétien parce qu'il a lu dans Rufin, dont il ne prononce pas le nom [3], le récit des persécutions infligées aux chrétiens par cet empereur. Mais précisément la Bretagne fut la seule région de l'Empire où la persécution est invraisemblable, la province étant administrée par Constance Chlore, puis par Constantin, qui pratiquaient la tolérance.

Gildas sait, grâce à Rufin également, qu'il y a eu des hérésies et il parle de la « perfidie Arienne » (chap. 11). Mais il ignore le Pélagianisme qui agita plus particulièrement son pays. La *Vita sancti Germani Autissiodorensis*, un des très rares textes qui jettent une lueur sur la grande île au v[e] siècle, lui est donc profondément inconnue [4].

Le « tyran » Maxime.

Le « tyran » Maxime est le seul personnage du IV[e] siècle que connaisse Gildas. Il le connaît par Orose ou Prosper Tiro [5] ou peut-être par la « Vie de saint Martin » de Sulpice Sévère [6]. Le récit est exact, mais

1. *Carm.*, VIII, 3, 155 ; éd. Leo, p. 185.
2. *Hist. Anglorum*, I, 7, 18.
3. Cf. Mommsen, p. 7.
4. Sur cette *vita* voy. Levison, *loc. laud.*
5. *Mon. Germ., auctores antiquissimi*, t. IX, p. 461-562.
6. Hugh Williams remarque des ressemblances frappantes entre Gildas et Sulpice, ressemblances qui ne peuvent être accidentelles. Ajouter que le mot *amphibalum* (manteau) au chap. 28 (plus loin p. 250) semble emprunté à la *Vita Martini*. Sur ce texte voy. E. Babut, *Saint Martin de Tours* (1912). Ce livre, très original, a été fortement contesté par le P. Delehaye dans les *Analecta Bollandiana* (t. 38, 1920), défendu par M. Marc Bloch dans la *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse* (1921). Voy. enfin Camille Jullian dans la *Revue des études anciennes* (1922).

très succinct. Notre auteur ne sait pas que Maxime était chrétien orthodoxe et que parmi ses adversaires il en était (tel Valentinien II et sa mère Justine) qui étaient ariens. S'il l'eut su son appréciation du « tyran » eut sans doute été différente.

Les attaques des Pictes et des Scots.

A partir du moment où il entreprend de retracer les attaques dont la Bretagne fut l'objet depuis la fin de l'Empire romain Gildas pourrait nous fournir des renseignements précieux. Il nous donne une suite de coq-à-l'âne. Qu'on en juge :

Le tyran Maxime ayant enlevé à l'île la fleur de ses jeunes guerriers qui le suivirent sur le continent, la Bretagne, sans expérience de la guerre, se voit attaquée pour la première fois par deux nations « transmarines » les Scots venus du nord-ouest (*a circione*), les Pictes venus du Nord.

Après avoir souffert de longues années d'oppression les Bretons écrivent à Rome pour la supplier de venir à leur secours, lui promettant leur soumission. Les Romains oublient les torts passés et envoient une légion [1]; elle écrase la multitude des ennemis, les chasse au delà de l'Océan et délivre les « citoyens ». Ceux-ci reçoivent l'ordre de bâtir d'une mer à l'autre un mur pour tenir à distance les ennemis. Construit par un peuple inexpert, sans architecte, ce rempart, fait moins de pierre que de gazon, ne servit de rien [2]. Les Romains retournent chez eux en triomphe (c. 13-14).

1. Il est plus que douteux que Gildas sache ce que c'est qu'une « légion ».

2. Bède (*Hist. Anglorum*, I, 12, éd. Plummer, p. 26) a cru qu'il s'agissait du rempart dit d'Antonin, qui courait de la Clyde au Forth. C'est une erreur, voy. plus loin p. 240-241.

Retour des ennemis, plus enragés que jamais, qui tuent et détruisent tout. Nouveau recours des Bretons à Rome. Une députation s'y présente en appareil de suppliants, les vêtements en lambeaux, la tête couverte de cendre, conjurant de ne pas laisser effacer en Bretagne le nom de Romain qui n'y est plus qu'un mot [1]. Emus de cette « tragédie », les Romains reviennent et, comme un torrent grossi par les orages, balayent les ennemis et les obligent à repasser les mers Mais, cette fois, ils déclarent qu'il leur sera impossible de recommencer. Désormais les Bretons doivent apprendre à se défendre eux-mêmes. Avant de partir les Romains construisent entre deux villes, d'une mer à l'autre, un rempart bien différent du premier, *solito structurae more* [2] ; ils élèvent sur le rivage méridional, le plus menacé par le Barbare, des tours à intervalles réguliers. Puis ils partent pour ne plus revenir.

Pictes et Scots reviennent alors en troupes à travers la « vallée de Tethys ». Mal défendu, le « mur » ne tient pas, les villes sont désertées, les « citoyens » sont réduits à vivre comme des bêtes sauvages. Une famine ajoute à l'horreur de leur situation (chap. 17-18). Alors les misérables débris des Bretons écrivent à Agitius (Aetius) « romanae potestatis vir » dans les termes suivants : « A Aetius pour la troisième fois consul le gémissement des Bretons ». Après quelques plaintes la lettre poursuivait ainsi : « les Barbares nous poussent à la côte, la mer nous pousse aux Barbares : nous sommes entre deux genres de mort : être égorgés, être noyés ». Vain appel. Cependant la famine obligeait nombre de malheureux à tendre les mains aux brigands

1. Nomenque Romanorum quod verbis tantum apud eos auribus resultabat (§ 17, p. 34). Cette phrase est exacte pour le siècle où écrit Gildas.

2. J'entends qu'il est en pierre, « comme c'est l'usage ».

envahisseurs pour obtenir quelque nourriture. Mais les autres, réfugiés dans les montagnes, les cavernes, les forêts, tombèrent sans relâche pendant nombre d'années sur les dévastateurs dont l'audace commença à fléchir. Les Irlandais [1] retournèrent chez eux, pour revenir, il est vrai, peu après. Les Pictes, à l'extrémité de l'île, se tinrent tranquilles pour la première fois et n'ont plus bougé, sauf pour faire de temps à autre quelque expédition de pillage [2]. Il survint alors une période de prospérité comme l'île n'en avait jamais connue dans le passé (chap. 15 à 20).

Est-il besoin de dire que ce tableau des chap. 15 à 20 n'a absolument rien d'historique? Il est faux que la Bretagne ait été entièrement dégarnie de troupes romaines après le départ de Maximin en 383 [3]. Elle conserva, jusqu'au 405 pour le moins, outre trois légions, les troupes tenant garnison sur le rempart d'Hadrien et sur le *Littus saxonicum* [4].

Il est faux que les Pictes et les Scots apparaissent alors pour la première fois : on les voit dès 296, 360, 367, 368, 369, etc.[5]. L'appel à Rome ne peut avoir de sens qu'après les environs de l'année 410. Une lettre

1. *Hiberni*. Ce nom est donc pour Gildas équivalent, et avec raison, de *Scotti*.

2. « Picti in extrema parte insulae tunc primum et *deinceps* requieverunt, praedas et contritiones nonnunquam facientes ». Passage intéressant en ce qu'il donne à croire que, au temps de Gildas, les Pictes n'étaient déjà plus redoutables, alors que les Scots d'Irlande opéraient encore des débarquements.

3. On sait que cette erreur, reprise par Nennius (éd. Mommsen, p. 167), a donné lieu à la fable de Conan Meriadec. Voy. A. de La Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, t. II, p. 443.

4. Voy. la *Notitia dignitatum imperii*. Cf. le mémoire de Bury cité plus loin p. 11, note 3.

5. Voy. mon mémoire *Les migrations saxonnes en Gaule et en Grande-Bretagne du* III^e *au* V^e *siècle*, 1915 (Extr. de la *Revue historique*, t. CXIX).

de l'empereur Honorius aux *civitates* de Bretagne, les engageant à pourvoir à leur défense par leurs propres moyens [1], se place entre octobre 409 et juillet 410 [2]. A cette date Rome ne pouvait plus secourir l'île [3]. Mais, antérieurement à cette date, l'appel à Rome, de la manière conçue par Gildas est absurde. Les Romains ne sont pas des étrangers qui viennent généreusement au secours d'un peuple soumis, mais ingrat et timide. Au IVe siècle les Bretons sont des Romains, tout comme les Gaulois, les Espagnols, les Illyriens. Il en va de même pendant la première moitié du Ve siècle, car, séparée de Rome malgré elle, la Bretagne continue à faire partie théoriquement de l'Empire agonisant [4].

1. Elle est connue par l'analyse de Zosime dans son *Historia novella*, VI, 10 : « Ὀνωρίου δὲ γράμμασι πρὸς τὰς ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ χρησαμένου πόλεις φυλάττεσθαι παραγγέλλουσι, δωρεαίς τέ ἀμειψαμένου τούς στρατιώτας ἐκ τῶν παρὰ Ἡρακλειανοῦ πεμφθέντων χρημάτων, ὁ μὲν Ὀνώριος ἦν ἐν ῥαστώνῃ πάσῃ τὴν τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἐπισπασάμενος εὔνοιαν (éd. Mendelssohn, p. 289).

2. Voy. J. Ramsay, *Foundation of England*, I, 101.

3. C'est l'usurpateur Constantin III qui a dû vider l'île de ses dernières troupes, quand il passa la Manche, en 406, pour se rendre maître de la Gaule. Voy. Sagot, *op. cit.*, p. 251. — Selon une ingénieuse théorie de G. B. Bury, la Bretagne aurait fait partie de l'Empire en 420 encore et aurait été défendue par des forces imposantes. Voy. *Notitia dignitatum* dans le *Journal of roman studies*, vol. X, 1920, p. 133-154. Nous avons fait des réserves à ces vues séduisantes et subtiles dans la *Revue des Études anciennes*, janvier 1923. — Les fouilles des archéologues anglais, entre autres Haverfield, montrent, d'après l'inspection des monnaies, que les villes romaines de Bretagne sont abandonnées dès le premier quart, quelquefois dès le début du Ve siècle.

4. Elle figure encore dans le *Laterculus* de Polemius Silvius, mais elle est rejetée à la fin (*Auct. antiquissimi*, t. IX, p. 542) Mommsen suppose (p. 532) que, au milieu du Ve siècle, elle est considérée comme perdue pour l'Empire. Cependant, en 447, saint Germain d'Auxerre peut faire son dernier voyage en Bretagne avec Sévère de Trèves. Les communications n'étaient donc pas entièrement coupées entre l'île et le continent.

Cependant, à partir du milieu du v^e^ siècle, il est évident que les Bretons, beaucoup plus faiblement romanisés que les Gaulois du continent, sentirent se relâcher rapidement les liens qui les unissaient à ce monde romain avec lequel ils ne communiquaient qu'avec intermittence. La langue celtique, et sans doute aussi le droit indigène, reprirent le dessus. Au vi^e^ siècle les Bretons continuent à s'appeler *cives* [1], par opposition aux Barbares, leurs oppresseurs, mais ils ne se reconnaissent plus comme « romains », quoique les rois portent parfois des noms latins [2]. A l'exception d'un petit nombre, dont Gildas, qui se sentaient romains d'inclination [3].

Inepte historiquement, cette suite de chapitres a, du moins, le mérite de jeter quelque lumière sur la disparition de la *Romania* en Bretagne, au vi^e^ siècle.

Les assertions sur le « mur » sont d'une extravagance amusante [4]. Une première fois les Bretons s'essayent à le construire, on l'a vu, et ils échouent ! les pauvres gens l'ont fait de gazon ! Le rempart n'est vraiment édifié que par les Romains lorsqu'ils reparaissent dans l'île. L'origine de ces assertions insensées peut être établie. Gildas a vu les ruines d'Hadrien. Le vallum, on le sait, est double : une première ligne est faite de levées de terre, sorte de rempart avancé; la

1. Gildas use constamment de ce mot pour dire « Bretons ». Le terme par lequel les Gallois se désignent, *Cymro*, littéralement « compatriote », me paraît être la traduction en langue celtique du latin *civis*. De *civis*, de Romain, le Breton est devenu insensiblement un *cymro*, un Gallois.

2. Ambrosius Aurelianus, Aurelius, Constantinus. Certains noms gallois du Moyen Age à apparence purement celtique, Owen, Gheraint, etc., sont en réalité d'origine gréco-latine (Eugenius, Gerontius). Cf. p. 31, note 3.

3. Cf. Zimmer dans Mommsen, p. 9 et 10.

4. Déjà relevée par J. Loth, *Émigration*, p. 151; — cf. du même *Les mots latins dans les langues brittoniques* (1892), p. 13-14.

deuxième, au nord, est de pierre [1]. Incapable de comprendre les raisons militaires de cette construction il a imaginé l'explication qu'on a reproduite plus haut [2]. Elle en dit long sur son tour d'imagination.

Quant aux « turres per intervalla ad prospectum maris » (chap. 18), Gildas en connaît l'existence grâce aux ruines des postes d'observation établis depuis le IVe siècle le long du *Littus saxonicum* [3].

La lettre à Aetius est troublante. Le premier mouvement est d'y voir une simple amplification de rhétorique. Mais Gildas, si ignorant, n'a pu inventer dans l'adresse *ter consuli*. Ce qui est inquiétant, c'est que le troisième consulat d'Aetius se place en 446 et que, en cette année, c'est à coup sûr contre les Saxons, et non contre les Pictes ou les Scots, que les Bretons devaient demander secours [4]. Reste que Gildas a pu avoir communication, copie, d'une lettre des Bretons au célèbre Aetius.

1. On trouvera un résumé des travaux de Haverfield sur le « mur » dans Fr. Sagot, *La Bretagne romaine* (1911), p. 145 et 161.

2. Le mur dit d'Antonin entre la Clyde et le Forth n'étant qu'une levée de terre (Sagot, p. 168; cf. S. N. Miller, *The roman Fort at Balmuidy on the Antonine wall*, Glasgow, in-4°, 1922), on a admis généralement que c'était lui que visait Gildas. Voy. entre autres Varin (*loc. cit.*, p. 108); La Borderie, (*Histoire de Bretagne*, t. I, p. 384); Hugh Williams (I, p. 34, note 1, p. 36, note 3). On en a tiré la conclusion que Gildas, né dans la vallée de la Clyde, selon la *Vita* armoricaine, avait vu ce rempart. Ces déductions paraissent solides. Elles ne le sont pas. Gildas est originaire du Sud-Galles ou de Domnonée (voy. plus loin, p. 262). Le mur d'Hadrien étant double, c'est à coup sûr lui que vise notre auteur, imaginant peu charitablement que l'inutile rempart de terre est l'œuvre de ses concitoyens, et lui opposant le rempart parallèle de pierres, dû aux Romains qu'il admire.

3. Cf. mon mémoire *Les migrations saxonnes en Gaule et en Grande-Bretagne du IIIe au Ve siècle*, 1915, p. 4 et 37 (Extr. de la *Revue historique*, t. CXIX).

4. Voy. Mommsen, p. 7-8; — cf. Thurneysen dans la *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, I, 168.

Où, comment? C'est ce qu'il est impossible de dire. Le ton déclamatoire de la phrase rapportée par Gildas donne à penser que cette production a été admirée et conservée dans les écoles latines de Bretagne comme modèle de style.

Enfin on ne comprend pas comment les débris des Bretons, traqués comme des bêtes sauvages, réduits par la famine, peuvent battre les envahisseurs et les refouler, les Pictes dans le Nord, les Scots en Irlande. Dernière énigme : si les Pictes se tiennent désormais à peu près tranquilles, on ne s'explique plus l'appel aux Saxons dont il va être question.

L'arrivée des Saxons.

Sur cet événement décisif, la conquête de la Bretagne par les Angles, les Saxons et les Jutes, événement relativement récent puisque l'auteur écrit une centaine d'années après [1], nous pourrions espérer trouver chez lui quelque résidu historique. Mais, ici encore, notre déception est cruelle. Voici un résumé des balivernes que Gildas nous rapporte à ce propos :

Le retour à la prospérité, après la victoire des Bretons sur les Scots et les Pictes, amena un débordement inouï de vices. Les rois se succédaient sur le trône, plus atroces les uns que les autres ; si l'un deux semblait moins fourbe et moins cruel, il s'attirait la haine de tous, comme s'il ruinait la Bretagne. Et non seulement les laïques, mais le clergé lui-même perdait la distinction du bien et du mal. C'est alors que, avec la permission de Dieu, désireux de purifier son peuple,

1. La conquête de la Bretagne par les Saxons était chose faite en 441-442 selon une source du sud de la Gaule, appelée par Mommsen *Chronica gallicana* (dans *Mon. Germ.*, *Auctores antiquissimi*, *Chronica minora*, I, 650).

les vieux ennemis reviennent subitement, résolus à tout détruire et à occuper entièrement le pays. Puis survient une peste « très célèbre » qui, enlève la majeure partie de la population ; les vivants suffisent à peine à ensevelir les morts [1]. Ces malheurs mêmes ne corrigent pas les Bretons. Cependant ils tiennent conseil. Aveuglés, tous les conseillers, ainsi que « le superbe tyran », croyant protéger le pays, le mènent à sa perte : pour résister aux « nations du Nord » ils introduisent les loups dans la bergerie ; ils font appel aux Saxons au nom néfaste. Les lionceaux sortent de la tanière de la lionne [2], portés sur trois « cyulae » [3], comme ils disent, c'est-à-dire des navires longs (*longis navibus*) « en notre langue [4] » ; une prophétie, faite en leur patrie, leur assurait trois cents ans de séjour dans le pays vers lequel ils dirigeaient leurs proues, — dont la moitié, cent cinquante années, de dévastation. Sous prétexte de combattre pour la Bretagne, ils fixent leurs griffes tout d'abord dans la partie orientale de ce pays. Renforcés constamment par l'afflux de nouveaux

1. Les Annales irlandaises et galloises signalent des pestes pour les v^e^ et vi^e^ siècles. Il est possible que l'on ait gardé du temps de Gildas le souvenir d'une épidémie ancienne. Mais il est possible également que la « peste » soit une invention destinée à expliquer le triomphe facile des Saxons sur les Bretons et le peuplement rapide de l'île par les envahisseurs.

2. Le mot *laenaea* a certainement le sens de « lionne » pour Gildas. Il symbolise l'Enfer (voy. chap. 32) et ici, en même temps, la Germanie, d'où viennent les exécrables Saxons. C'est une idée bouffonne, qu'on trouve chez plusieurs érudits (même Zimmer), de voir dans la « lionne » une allusion à la reine bretonne Boudicée, qui se souleva contre Suetonius Paulinus en l'an 62. Hugh Williams (p. 20, note 1) a bien vu que chez Gildas la « lionne » est un symbole topographique.

3. Le mot semble être l'anglais *keel* (Hugh Williams, p. 53).

4. Le latin à coup sûr. L'adjectif *longa* a donné en gallois *llong* « navire ». Cf. Zimmer, dans Mommsen, p. 9.

venus envoyés par leur mère [1], les étrangers pullullent sur le sol breton. Au début, introduits comme soldats dans l'île, ils réclament l' « annone ». Longtemps elle ferme la gueule de ces chiens. Puis leurs exigences augmentent; ils menacent de rompre le traité (*foedus*) et de tout dévaster. Des menaces ils passent vite à l'exécution. Le feu embrase presque toute l'île, dévorant villes et campagnes et vient lécher l'Océan à l'ouest. Toutes les villes sont incendiées, rasées ; les autels sont renversés ; les populations égorgées ; les cadavres ensanglantés encombrent les places; pour toute sépulture le ventre des bêtes et des oiseaux de proie. Les misérables débris des Bretons saisis dans les montagnes étaient massacrés en masse ; d'autres, affamés, se livraient à l'ennemi qui les réduisait en servitude, à moins qu'il ne leur fît la grâce de les égorger. Les uns, avec des hurlements de douleur à la place du chant des matelots [2], gagnaient à la voile les régions transmarines [3]. Les autres demeuraient dans leur patrie, réfugiés dans les montagnes, dans l'épaisseur des forêts ou sur les rochers de la mer, et là même sentaient leur existence sans cesse menacée. Après un certain intervalle de temps, les cruels brigands se retirent [4]. Alors les malheureux citoyens se rassemblent de toutes parts, telles les abeilles lorsque la tempête menace, priant Dieu de ne point les détruire jusqu'à l'exter-

1. Cf. p. 243, note 2.

2. Cum ululatu magno, ceu celeumatis vice ». Hugh Williams explique bien ce passage (p. 59, note 2).

3. Allusion à l'émigration des Bretons en Armorique. Voy. J. Loth, *L'émigration bretonne en Armorique du* v^e^ *au* vii^e^ *siècle de notre ère* (1883). Les Bretons s'enfuirent aussi en Espagne, en Galice, où ils conservèrent un siège épiscopal jusque vers l'an 900. Voy. Gougaud, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

4. « Cum recessissent domum crudelissimi praedones » (p. 40). *Domum* ici ne peut désigner que la partie orientale de la Bretagne, non le continent.

mination. Leur chef était Ambrosius Aurelianus, homme honnête, qui, des Romains, se trouva le seul survivant d'une famille « revêtue de la pourpre ». « De notre temps sa descendance s'est grandement écartée des vertus de l'ancêtre [1] ». Sous sa conduite les Bretons se ressaisissent, offrant le combat aux vainqueurs : Dieu leur donne la victoire.

A partir de cette époque il y eut alternance de victoire entre les « citoyens » et les ennemis, jusqu'à l'année qui vit le siège du Mont Badon et la dernière et terrible défaite des envahisseurs « il y a de cela quarante-quatre ans plus un mois et j'ai appris que cette année fut celle de ma naissance [2] ».

1. La seconde partie est consacrée à fulminer contre cette descendance indigne.

2. Cap. 26 : « Ex eo tempore nunc cives nunc hostes vincebant, ut in ista gente experiretur Dominus solito more praesentem Israelem utrum diligat eum annon, usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis novissimaeque ferme de furciferis non minimae stragis, quique quadragesimus quartus, ut novi, orditur annus, mense jam uno emenso, qui et meae nativitatis est » (p. 40). Cette phrase embrouillée, Bède le Vénérable s'est cru permis de l'interpréter en ajoutant au chiffre 44 « adventus eorum (Saxonum) in Britanniam (*Hist. eccl. Anglorum*, l. I, c. 16) et, comme il place — à tort — l'arrivée des Saxons en Bretagne en 449, la bataille du mont Badon, par suite la naissance de Gildas, seraient de l'an 493. Il est étrange que La Borderie (*Revue Celtique*, t. V, p. 1-13 et *Etudes bretonnes*, p. 354) et aussi J. Loth (*Emigration*, p. 29, note 1) aient soutenu qu'on doit accorder toute foi à l'interprétation de Bède qui aurait consulté un ancien manuscrit (?). Mais invoquer la correction grammaticale et la clarté en faveur de cette conjecture est une plaisanterie quand il s'agit de Gildas. — Quant à comprendre que Gildas place sa naissance 44 ans et un jour après la bataille du Mont Badon (cf. Hugh Williams, p. 57-58), c'est une interprétation condamnée par une observation faite, dès le XVII^e siècle, par Usserius (cf. Hugh Williams, p. 63) : si Gildas sait avec précision l'époque où a été livrée cette bataille décisive c'est qu'elle coïncide, à ce qu'on lui a dit (*ut novi*), avec sa propre naissance. Malheureusement, il ne

En dépit de ce triomphe et de l'arrêt de la guerre étrangère, mais non, d'ailleurs, des guerres civiles, les villes ne sont plus remplies d'habitants comme autrefois; elles demeurent en ruines et désertes.

Tant que dura le souvenir de la situation désespérée où était tombée la Bretagne et du secours miraculeux qui l'en avait tirée, rois, hommes publics, particuliers, évêques, clercs, se conduisirent comme ils devaient. Puis cette génération disparut. Elle fut remplacée par une autre oublieuse des malheurs passés, sensible seulement au calme du présent. Alors tous les principes de vérité et de justice furent anéantis; leur trace, leur souvenir même ne subsiste plus dans aucune classe de la société, excepté chez une poignée de gens, si peu nombreux en comparaison de la multitude qui chaque jour se précipite dans l'enfer, que notre vénérable mère l'Eglise ne les aperçoit même pas blottis dans son sein. Ces gens de bonne vie, l'auteur n'a pas dessein de les admonester; puissent, au contraire, leurs saintes prières étayer sa faiblesse! Les serviteurs mêmes du diable lui arracheront moins une condamnation, motivée pourtant par l'accumulation de leurs forfaits, que des gémissements. A quoi sert se taire? Ce ne sont pas seulement les « citoyens » mais les nations voisines qui connaissent ces faits et qui les réprouvent [1].

Il est impossible de n'être pas frappé du caractère imprécis et flou de ce récit. La description de la détresse de la Bretagne (chap. 24-25) n'est guère qu'une reprise des chap. 16 et suivants et excite la même défiance : on sent que tout cela est fait « de chic ».

La chronologie est inexistante. Une seule donnée : la bataille du Mont Badon, qui arrêta pour longtemps

nous indique pas — par modestie — sa date de naissance, qu'il juge sans intérêt pour les autres.

1. Ed. Mommsen, § 22-26, p. 37-41. Cf. sur les bons le chap. 65 (p. 61-62).

le progrès des Saxons, coïncide avec la naissance de Gildas et elle a eu lieu il y a 44 ans et un mois. L'auteur pouvait à ce propos nous donner une précision (olympiade, consulat, année d'un roi ou de l'empereur); il n'en fait rien. Nous arrivons, par conjecture, à savoir qu'il a écrit un peu avant le milieu du VI^e^ siècle : le roi Maglocunus, qu'il va prendre à partie au chap. 33, est mort de la peste en 547 [1]. La confection du *Liber querulus* est donc au plus tard de 546 et la bataille du Mont Badon de l'an 502 [2].

D'autre part, Gildas étant mort en 569 ou 570 [3], sa date de naissance, par suite la bataille du Mont Badon, sont difficilement antérieures à 490. En plaçant ce double événement vers l'année 500 nous ne risquons qu'une erreur relativement peu considérable [4]. En dehors de cette bataille Gildas ne sait rien, ne nous apprend rien. Il s'autorise d'une soi-disant prophétie saxonne pour affirmer que le séjour des étrangers en Bretagne durera 300 ans, dont la moitié coupée par des dévastations. Cette période de troubles ayant pris fin à la bataille du Mont Badon, il en faut conclure deux

1. *Annales Cambriae*, s. a. 103 = 547; — *Vita Sancti Teliavi* dans le *Liber Landavensis*, p. 101. Voy. Zimmer, dans Mommsen, p. 5 et 9.

2. Les *Annales Cambriae* donnent une date : 516, mais la rédaction de cette année ayant subi l'influence de la légende d'Arthur se trouve, par suite, suspecte; en outre, elle est chronologiquement inadmissible. Voy. Heinrich Zimmer, *Nennius vindicatus* (1893), p. 100; et dans l'édition Mommsen, p. 9. — L'identification de *Mons Badonicus* a donné lieu à quantité de conjectures. Je préfère les passer sous silence, aucune n'entraînant conviction, et renvoyer à E. Guest, *Origines celticae* (vol. II, 1883) et Hugh Williams (p. 61, note 4).

3. En 570 suivant les *Annales Cambriae*, en 569 suivant les annales irlandaises d'Ulster. Voy. La Borderie, *Etudes*, p. 346 et 370; Zimmer dans Mommsen, p. 6.

4. Dans son *Nennius vindicatus* (p. 287), Zimmer place le double événement entre 495 et 501, et la rédaction du *De excidio* vers 544.

choses : 1° Gildas plaçait vaguement à une époque correspondant au milieu du IVe siècle l'appel aux Saxons ; comment conciliait-il cela avec le passage où l'arrivée des envahisseurs est postérieure à la lettre à Aétius ? Evidemment il ne s'est même pas posé la question ; 2° le séjour des envahisseurs ne devant être en tout que de trois siècles, dont la moitié d'occupation paisible, et un demi-siècle environ s'étant écoulé depuis la victoire qui assura aux Bretons une paix ininterrompue, notre auteur s'attendait à l'expulsion des Saxons de l'île dans une centaine d'années !

Cependant Gildas en sait plus qu'il ne dit sur l'arrivée des Saxons; il procède par allusion au chapitre 23 et ne daigne même pas nommer le « superbus tyrannus », l'« infaustus tyrannus », auteur des malheurs de la Bretagne. Mais, si peu qu'il en dise, il en dit assez pour qu'on puisse voir qu'il a utilisé une légende et non un texte historique : les trois *cyulae* et la prophétie sont des indices qui ne trompent point [1]. Ce qui pourrait faire hésiter cependant, c'est l'assertion que les Saxons sont venus à titre de mercenaires, qu'ils ont été payés en nature et se sont tenus tranquilles quelque temps avant de briser le *foedus*. Ce tableau cadre bien avec ce qu'on sait des rapports des Romains avec les barbares « fédérés » à partir du dernier quart du IVe siècle. Par malheur l'occupation de la Bretagne par les Saxons a revêtu un caractère très différent. L'évènement décisif de 441-442 n'est que le dernier épisode d'une longue histoire qui a commencé un siècle et demi ou deux siècles plus tôt. Les attaques des Saxons n'avaient pas

1. Sur les légendes touchant la conquête de la Grande-Bretagne par les Saxons je me permettrai de renvoyer à mon mémoire *Hengist, Hors, Vortigern*, paru dans les *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à M. Charles Bémont* (1913).

cessé depuis le IIIe siècle [1]. Sur ce point même Gildas n'est donc pas recevable.

Somme toute que reste t-il de ce récit? Presque rien. 1° Une allusion, malheureusement très imprécise, à l'émigration bretonne outre Manche; 2° le nom d'Ambrosius Aurelianus, le dernier Romain de Bretagne, nom qu'il n'y a pas lieu de rejeter puisque l'auteur est contemporain des rois bretons issus de lui; 3° la bataille du Mont Badon, suivie d'une paix profonde entre les indigènes et les envahisseurs; cette paix cependant laisse la patrie bretonne épuisée : les villes ne sont pas relevées.

SECONDE PARTIE

Les chapitres qui précèdent ne sont pour l'auteur qu'une introduction [2]. Son but c'est le châtiment et la correction des méchants. Il le remplit vigoureusement et abondamment au cours des chapitres 27 à 110 [3]. Cette partie, celle sans doute qui a le plus intéressé et édifié les contemporains et la « postérité », — du moins celle du Moyen-Age —, est aujourd'hui illisible. Ce n'est qu'une enfilade de citations de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament. L'auteur s'en prend aux rois d'abord (chap. 27 à 64), puis aux ministres du Seigneur (chap. 65-110). Rien à tirer de la division consacrée aux « sacerdotes » (évêques et prêtres) : les reproches sont à la fois passionnés et d'un vague extrême. L'auteur reconnait qu'on peut lui objecter que, de son propre

1. Voy. mon mémoire *Les Migrations saxonnes en Gaule et en Grande Bretagne du* IVe *au* Ve *siècle* (Extr. de la *Revue historique*, t. CXIX, année 1915).

2. Mommsen aurait dû marquer la différence par une division matérielle.

3. Edition Mommsen, p. 41 à 85.

aveu, il y a de bons évêques et de bons prêtres [1] : tout le clergé n'est pas schismatique, orgueilleux, impur. Il répondra que peu a importé qu'Heli fût le seul à ne point violer les ordres du Seigneur, et il poursuit longuement ce développement.

Il y a, au contraire, quelque chose à récolter dans les chapitres consacrés aux rois [2].

Ce sont moins des rois que des tyrans, des juges opprimant les innocents, favorisant les brigands. Adultères, parjures, menteurs, s'ils font la guerre, c'est la guerre civile, la guerre injuste. Ils traquent au dehors les voleurs, mais ils admettent des larrons à leur table et les comblent de dons. Ils distribuent de larges aumônes, mais ils accumulent un monceau de forfaits. Ils siègent en justice, mais trop rarement appliquent les règles du droit : donnant tort aux innocents et aux humbles, ils portent aux nues les cruels, les superbes, les parricides, les séditieux [3], les adultères, etc.

Tous ces forfaits sont familiers au petit de la lionne immonde [4] de Domnonée, le tyranneau Constantin. En cette année, après d'horribles serments, il a, sous le manteau d'un saint abbé [5], percé les tendres flancs de deux enfants royaux et de leurs gouverneurs, en face des autels ensanglantés. Ces derniers « le jour du jugement, tiendront au bout de leurs bras, non des armes, — nul pourtant en leur temps ne sut plus vigoureusement les manier — mais les étendarts vénérables de leur martyre et de leur foi et les suspendront, Christ, aux portes de ta Cité ». Dans le passé du tyran rien à louer. Bien au contraire, il y a longtemps, multipliant

1. Chap. 69, p. 64.

2. Du moins dans les § 27 à 35. Ce qui suit (§ 36 à 64) est le vide absolu.

3. *Commanipulares* (p. 41, l. 23).

4. Sur cette expression cf. p. 243, n. 2.

5. Allusion impénétrable pour nous.

les adultères, il a répudié sa légitime épouse .... Et des crimes récents augmentent la somme des anciens (chap. 29). Bourreau de son âme, il attise pour soi-même les flammes de l'enfer, etc. (chap. 30) [1].

« Que fais-tu, Aurelius Caninus, race de lion [2], comme dit le prophète ! Toi aussi, tu t'enfonces dans l'abîme des parricides, des fornications, des adultères qui t'engloutiront comme une invasion des flots de la mer. Serpent malfaisant, tu refuses la paix à ta patrie; altéré de guerres civiles, de rapts injustes et répétés, tu te fermes les portes de la patrie céleste où l'on jouit de la paix, où l'on étanche sa soif. Presque seul, comme l'arbre sec au milieu du champ, rappelle-toi les folles imaginations de tes père et frères, leur mort prématurée. Espères-tu atteindre cent ans ou égaler Mathusalem grâce à tes merites religieux ? A quoi bon, puisque tu es presque entièrement privé de postérité .... » (chap. 31).

« Semblable à la panthère, bigarré d'iniquités, pourquoi, la tête grisonnante, te raidir stupidement sur un trône scellé de parricides et d'adultères, méchant fils d'un bon père, Vortipor, tyran des Demètes ? Pourquoi, presque au terme de ta vie, te gorger de péchés violents qui, en réalité, te dévorent ? Pourquoi, pour comble de maux, ayant écarté ton épouse, qui mourut dignement, charger l'âme misérable d'une fille impudente d'un poids intolérable ? [3]. N'emploie pas, je t'en sup-

1. Le chapitre 29 débute par une phrase énigmatique : « age jam (quasi praesentem arguo quem adhuc superesse non nescio) quid stupes, animae carnifex propriae ? ».

2. Ce n'est pas un compliment ; le sens est « suppôt de l'enfer ».

3. Ou peut-être « charger ton âme misérable du poids intolérable, d'une fille impudente » : « quid quasi culminis malorum omnium stupro, propria tua amota conjuge ejusdemque honesta morte, impudentis filiae quodam ineluctabili pondere miseram animam oneras ? ». Ce passage ne serait-il pas la source du soi-

plie, la fin de tes jours à offenser Dieu, car voilà l'occasion favorable, le jour du salut luit pour le repentir etc. » (chap. 31).

« Pourquoi te rouler dans la lie de ton iniquité et celà dès l'enfance, Ours ..... contempteur de Dieu et de ses lois, Cuneglas, en langue romaine « chien fauve » [1]? Pourquoi lutter contre les hommes et contre Dieu ? Contre les hommes par la force des armes, contre Dieu par la masse des crimes ? Entre autres faits condamnables — ils sont innombrables —, après avoir chassé ta légitime épouse, tu jettes les yeux sur sa détestable sœur, qui avait promis au Seigneur la chasteté de son veuvage, exquise délicatesse des nymphes habitantes du ciel, oublieux des préceptes de l'apôtre qui refuse l'entrée du royaume d'en haut aux rois adultères. Pourquoi, à la manière de la lionne horrible [2] qui un jour brisera tes ossements, accumuler les persécutions contre les saints qui gémissent et soupirent pour toi. Mets un terme à ton courroux, comme dit le prophète, arrête cette exécrable fureur que tu souffles contre le ciel et la terre, je veux dire Dieu et son troupeau. Fais en sorte, en changeant ta vie, qu'ils prient pour

disant mariage de Vortigern (confondu avec Vortipor) dans Nennius (*ibid.*, p. 180, l. 9) ?

1. « Urse multorum sessor aurigaque currus receptaculi ursi, Dei contemptor sortisque ejus depressor, *Cuneglase*, romana lingua *lanio fulve* » (p. 44, l. 4). Je renonce à expliquer ce passage. La traduction latine du nom d'homme breton peut s'expliquer ainsi : *fulve* (pour *flave*) rend le second terme *glas*, qui s'entend d'une couleur indéterminée grise, jaune, rousse, et *lanio* « déchireur » est l'équivalent de *cune* « chien « (voy. J. Loth, dans *Revue Celtique*, t. 33, p. 429-430). Après avoir tenté une interprétation M. Hugh Williams conclut (p. 74) : « I feel that Gildas must have fallen into a mistake in the heat of his desire to fasten an ugly nickname upon Cuneglasus ».

2. Cf. plus haut, p. 243, note 2.

toi ceux auxquels il appartient de lier et de délier en ce monde et dans l'autre, etc. (chap. 32)[1].

« Je parlerai en dernier de toi, le premier dans le

1. A titre d'exemple, pour donner une idée du style « molluskenartig » de Gildas, comme le qualifie justement Lappenberg (*Geschichte von England*, I, 1834, 135), je reproduirai un chapitre (le c. 33), et non des pires, du *de excidio*. Cette citation montrera au lecteur que toute traduction littérale est impossible et qu'une simple paraphrase est même malaisée :

« Quid tu enim, insularis draco, multorum tyrannorum depulsor tam regno quam etiam vita supradictorum, novissime stilo, prime in malo, major multis potentia simulque malitia, largior in dando, profusior in peccato, robuste armis, sed animae fortior excidiis, Maglocune, in tam vetusto scelerum atramento, veluti madidus vino de Sodomitana vite expresso, stolide volutaris ? quare tantas peccaminum regiae cervici sponte, ut ita dicam, ineluctabiles, celsorum ceu montium, innectis moles ? quid te non ei regum omnium regi, qui te cunctis paene Brittanniae ducibus tam regno fecit quam status liniamento editiorem, exhibes ceteris moribus meliorem, sed versa vice deteriorem ! Quorum indubitatam aequanimiter conviciorum auscultato parumper adstipulationem, omissis domesticis levioribusque, si tamen aliqua sunt levia, palata solum longe lateque per auras admissa testaturam. Nonne in primis adolescentiae tuae annis avunclum regem cum fortissimis propemodum militibus, quorum vultus non catulorum leonis in acie magnopere dispares visebantur, accerime ense, hasta, igni oppressisti ? parum cogitans propheticum dictum : « viri, inquiens, sanguinum et doli non dimidiabunt dies suos » (*Psalm.* 54, 24). Quid pro hoc solo retributionis justo judice sperares, etsi non talia sequerentur quae secuta sunt, itidem dicente per prophetam ; « vae tibi qui praedaris, nonne et ipse praedaberis ? Et qui occidis nonne et ipse occideris ? et cum desineris praedari tum cades ? » (*Isai*, 33, 1). [Cap. 34]. Nonne postquam tibi ex voto violenti regni fantasia cessit, cupiditate inlectus ad viam revertendi rectam, diebus ac noctibus id temporis, conscientia forte peccaminum remordente, de deifico tenore monachorumque decretis sub dente primum multa ruminans, dein popularis aurae cognitioni proferens, monachum sine ullo infidelitatis, ut aiebas, respectu, coram omnipotente Deo, angelicis vultibus humanisque ruptis, ut putabatur, capacissimis illis quibus praecipitanter involvi

mal, dragon insulaire [1], qui as privé du titre et même de la vie nombre des tyrans que j'ai dits plus haut [2] le plus grand par la puissance et par la malice, le plus prodigue de dons et aussi de péchés, fort de tes succès, plus fort en excès, Maglocunus. Pourquoi te vautrer en insensé dans la boue de tes crimes, comme ivre du vin fait de la vigne de Sodome? Pourquoi attacher volontairement à ton cou une masse de péchés haute comme une montagne? Le roi des rois t'a élevé

solent pingues tauri, moduli tui, retibus, omnis regni auri, argenti et, quod majus est, propriae voluntatis distentionibus ruptis, perpetuo vovisti et tete acsi stridulo cavum lapsu aerem valide secantem saevosque rapidi harpagones accipitris sinuosis flexibus vitantem ad sanctorum tibi magnopere fidas speluncas refrigeriaque salubriter rapuisti, ex corvo columbam? O quanta Ecclesiae matri laetitia, si non te cunctorum mortalium hostis de sinu quodammodo ejus lugubriter abstraxisset, foret! O quam profusus spei caelestis fomes desperatorum cordibus, te in bonis permanente, inardesceret! O qualia quantaque animam tuam regni Christi praemia in die judicii manerent. si non lupus callidus ille agnum ex lupo factum te ab ovili dominico, non vehementer invitum, facturus lupum ex agno sibi similem, rapuisset! O quantam exultationem pio omnium patri Deo sanctorum tua salus servanda praestaret, si non te cunctorum perditorum infaustus pater, veluti magnarum aquila alarum unguiumque daemon, infelici filiorum suorum agmini contra jus fasque rapuisset! ne multa, tantum gaudii ac suavitatis tum caelo terraeque tua ad bonam frugem conversio, quantum nunc maeroris ac luctus ministravit ad horribilem more molossi aegri, vomitum nefanda reversio; qua peracta « exhibentur membra arma iniquitatis peccato ac diabolo », (*Proverb.* 26, 11) quae oportuerat salvo sensu avide « exhiberi arma justitiae Deo » (II, *Petr.*, 2, 22 ; *Rom.*, 6, 13). Arrecto aurium etc. (la fin p. 256, note 1).

1. Le dragon est le symbole du pouvoir, mais ici « dragon » est une injure, comme « lion », « léopard », « ours ». Maglocunus est un dragon « insulaire » parce que le siège de son royaume était dans l'île de Mona, qui prit plus tard le nom d'Anglesey.

2. Allusion au début du chap. 27 « reges habet Britannia sed tyrannos » (p. 41, l. 15).

au dessus des chefs de la Bretagne presque entière tant par la puissance que par la beauté [1], pourquoi te montrer à lui comme le pire de tous par ta conduite, alors que tu devrais être de tous le meilleur ? Laissant de côté ta vie privée, voici des faits patents, connus même au loin. N'as-tu pas dans la fleur de ton adolescence attaqué âprement le roi ton oncle, par l'épée, par la lance, par le feu, en compagnie de forts guerriers dont l'aspect différait peu de celui de lionceaux au combat ? Quelle rétribution espérais-tu du juge suprême pour cet acte, même si la suite en avait été différente [2]. Puis l'orgueil du pouvoir conquis par la violence tomba spontanément [3] ; tu fus pris de la passion de retourner vers le droit chemin : sans doute la conscience de tes péchés te tourmentait à cette époque jour et nuit ; ruminant d'abord les paroles divines, les règles monastiques, puis faisant connaître ton dessein à la population, tu prononças sans arrière-pensée — du moins tu le disais — des vœux monastiques, te liant à jamais en face du Dieu tout puissant, des anges et des hommes, ayant brisé ces amples filets dans lesquels s'embarrassent dans leur ardeur ces gros taureaux auxquels tu ressembles, j'entends par là le pouvoir, l'or et l'argent et, qui mieux est, tes désirs effrénés. Tranchant vigoureusement l'air vide d'une chute éperdue et te dérobant par un vol sinueux aux serres cruelles du rapide épervier, tu te

1. Ou « la stature ». C'est du moins ainsi que j'interprète « qui te cunctis paene Brittanniae ducibus tam regno fecit quam status liniamento editiorem » (p. 45, l. 3),

2. La révolte de Maglocunus contre son oncle avait donc finalement échoué.

3. « Nonne postquam tibi ex voto violenti regni fantasia cessit » (chap. 34). *Fantasia* dans la langue de Gildas est équivalent de *superbia*, fait remarquer Hugh Williams (p. 71, note 2) qui traduit cependant (p. 79) : « When the dream of thy oppressive reign turned out according to thy wish ».

précipitas dans la grotte sûre et l'asile frais du saint lieu, de corbeau devenu colombe. Quelle joie pour l'Église, notre mère, si l'ennemi des mortels ne t'avait — ô désolation — arraché de son sein ... Le loup devenu agneau redevint loup et sans grande résistance ... Ce ne sont plus les louanges de Dieu, les chants des soldats du Christ doucement modulés, les neumes de la mélodie d'Église qui captivent ton oreille, mais tes propres louanges — moins que rien — mensonges de scélérats, pus qui infecte ceux sur lesquels il jaillit, bacchanales vociférées par la bouche des hérauts ... (chap. 35) [1].

« Une telle accumulation de fautes eut pu arrêter comme un obstacle ton esprit fermé à la sagesse. Point. Comme le poulain échauffé, qui n'estime agréable que les pâturages qu'il ignore, il s'échappe d'une furie irrésistible à travers la campagne et augmente la somme de ses forfaits. Un premier mariage, illicite, il est vrai, après les vœux monastiques, est dédaigné. On en recherche un autre, et avec quelle femme ! celle d'un homme vivant, aimée du fils d'un frère ! Ainsi ta dure tête, courbée déjà sous le faix des péchés, ploie sous le crime d'un double parricide, le meurtre du mari, le meurtre de la première épouse [2]. Ensuite, cette femme

1. « Arrecto aurium auscultantur captu non Dei laudes, canora Christi tironum voce suaviter modulante neumaque ecclesisticae melodiae, sed propriae, quae nihil sunt, furciferorum referto mendaciis simulque spumanti flegmate proximos quosque roscidaturo, praeconum ore ritu bacchantium concrepante, ita ut vas, Dei quondam in ministerio praeparatum, vertatur in zabuli organum quodque honore caelesti putabatur dignum, merito proiciatur in tartari barathrum » (p. 46). Il m'est impossible de ne pas voir dans cette fin de chapitre une allusion à des bardes de cour chantant les louanges du roi Maelgwn.

2. » Ob quod dura cervix illa, multis jam peccaminum fascibus onerata, bino parricidali ausu, occidendo supra dictum uxoremque tuam aliquamdiu a te habitam, velut summo sacrilegii tui culmine de imis ad inferiora curvatur » (p. 46, l. 21).

dont les manœuvres avaient provoqué ces forfaits, tu l'as épousée comme veuve, publiquement, union légitime, proclament tes parasites, du bout de la langue et non du cœur, union scélérate, disons-nous. Quel cœur saint, déchiré par une telle histoire, n'éclaterait pas aussitôt en pleurs et en sanglots ? Quel prêtre offrant à Dieu un cœur droit ne répéterait pas avec des hurlements les prophéties de Jérémie..... Les avertissements ne te manquent pas : tu as eu comme précepteur le maître le plus distingué de la Bretagne [1]... Si tu demeures sourd à la voix des prophètes, si tu dédaignes Christ, si tu ne fais aucun cas de nous-même, au reste de si mince valeur,... certes le ténébreux torrent du Tartare te roulera d'un tourbillon féroce dans ses ondes ardentes, te suppliant sans cesse, sans jamais te consumer... » (chap. 36).

Ces chapitres projettent une lueur sur l'état de la Bretagne celtique au VI^e^ siècle.

D'abord sur l'état moral de la population, notamment des hautes classes de la société. Les rois nous apparaissent comme une ménagerie de bêtes féroces [2]. Quoique toute contre-enquête soit à jamais impossible, il ne semble pas qu'il y ait lieu d'incriminer la véracité de Gildas. La tableau des cruautés et des débauches des princes bretons rappelle des faits bien connus de l'histoire des Mérovingiens, sans parler des autres dynasties barbares et de Byzance. Il est conforme à ce

1. « Sed monita tibi profecto non desunt, tum habueris praeceptorem paene totius Britanniae magistrum elegantem » (p. 47, l. 15). Ne doit-on pas conclure de ce passage que les petits rois bretons recevaient encore au VI^e^ siècle quelque teinture des lettres latines conservées dans les cloîtres ?

2. Gildas lui-même suggère cette comparaison : Constantin et Aurèle Conan sont des lionceaux, Guortepyr un léopard, Cynglas un ours, Maelgwn un dragon.

qu'on peut attendre d'une aussi triste époque où la corruption et l'immoralité sont des phénomènes universels. Écœuré, Gildas a conçu une faible opinion de ses concitoyens — nous avons vu, au surplus, qu'il se sentait plus Romain que Breton [1] — et il a reporté dans leur passé, même le plus reculé, les défauts et les vices qu'il voyait étalés sous ses yeux [2]. La postérité l'a cru sur parole. Les écrivains anglais du Moyen Age [3], même britanniques [4], sont sévères pour les Bretons et leurs descendants, les Gallois, sur la foi de Gildas. Lui seul, sans le vouloir, a tiré son épingle du jeu : on lui a su gré de ses invectives passionnées, on a vu en lui un sage, un saint. De bonne heure la qualification de « sage » lui a été attribuée [5]. Mais cette bonne réputation il l'a gagnée aux dépens des siens. Gildas est le « sage breton », mais il demeure entendu qu'il est le seul honnête homme de cette race maudite.

La connaissance du nombre et des noms des « tyrans » est précieuse.

Les noms indiquent que la celticité a effacé, ou tend

1. Voyez p. 240 et 241, note 2.

2. Voyez p. 249.

3. Au VIII^e siècle, Bède et Alcuin, au XI^e Wulfstan, archevêque d'York, au XII^e s., Guillaume Malmesbury, au XIII^e Guillaume de Newbury et Raoul *de Diceto*. Voy. les textes reproduits par Mommsen, p. 22-24, et Hugh Williams, II, 415.

4. Ainsi, Gourdisten, abbé de Landevennec, au IX^e siècle ; au milieu du XII^e siècle Gautrey de Monmouth, à demi Gallois, il est vrai. Cependant, à la fin du même siècle un autre demi gallois, Giraud de Barry, fit des réserves sur la véracité du tableau présenté par Gildas.

5. Dès 793 Alcuin le qualifie déjà de « Brittonum sapientissimus » (cf. plus haut, p. 229, n. 1) et vers 1125 Guillaume de Malmesbury dans ses *Gesta regnum Anglorum* (éd. Stubbs, I, 20) imagine qu'il a vécu longtemps au monastère de Glastonbury et ajoute : « Gildas neque insulsus neque infacetus historicus, cui Britanni debent si quid notitiae inter ceteras gentes habent ».

à effacer l'empreinte romaine [1]. Sur cinq noms trois sont purement bretons : Vortipor, Cuneglas, Maglocunus [2] ; un seul est purement romain : Constantin [3] ; un est mixte : Aurelius Caninus [4]. Ces rois descendent du romain Ambrosius Aurelianus qui préserva les débris des « cives » de l'extermination [5].

Pour trois d'entre eux nous savons le royaume qu'ils gouvernent :

1° Constantin est roi de *Domnonia*. On entend par là l'extrémité sud-ouest de la Grande-Bretagne : le comté actuel de Devon qui conserve ce nom, celui de Cornwall et, sans doute aussi, les comtés voisins de Dorset et de Somerset [6] ;

2° Vortipor est roi des *Demetae*. C'est le Sud-Galles, le *Dyfed* du Moyen âge [7] ;

3° Quant à Maglocunus il est à coup sûr roi de Nord-Galles, de Gwynedd (la *Venedotia* romaine). L'épithète d'*insularis draco* que lui donne Gildas, combinée avec

1. Selon F. Haverfield l'empreinte romaine tendit à disparaître devant le retour de la celticité dès le début du v^e^ siècle. Voy. entre autres son opuscule *Romanisation of Britain* (2^e^ éd., 1912) et son chapitre de la *Cambridge Medieval history*, vol. II, p. 367-385.

2. Sur ces noms voy. J. Loth, *Chrestomathie bretonne* (1890), p. 48.

3. Devenu en gallois Custennin. Des noms d'usurpateurs du IV^e^ et du v^e^ siècle ont persisté dans l'onomastique galloise : Gerontius est devenu Ghereint, Eugenius a donné Owen (par les intermédiaires Eugein, Ywen).

4. Ou mieux *Cuninus* (leçon du ms. d'Avranches). On y reconnaît le nom bien connu Cunan, Conan.

5. Un système ancien (Nennius, p. 205) fait descendre Maelgwn (Maglocunus) de Cunedag, venu du Nord de l'île.

6. Voy. J. Loth, *Émigration bretonne*, p. 157.

7. Sur l'histoire et la géographie du pays de Galles on peut consulter, bien qu'avec précaution, John Rhys et David Brynmor Jones, *The Welsh people* (1900). Voy. aussi Lloyd, *History of Wales* (1911).

les *Annales Cambriae*, met le fait hors de doute : l'île d'Anglesey a été longtemps le chef-lieu du royaume du Nord. Il est intéressant d'apprendre que la suprématie du *Gwynedd* existait déjà au VI^e^ siècle, puisque Maglocunus est dit le plus puissant des tyrans.

On ne sait malheureusement où règnent Cunoglasus et Aurelius Caninus. L'un d'eux sans doute règne dans la région centrale du pays de Galles, le Powys. Le royaume de l'autre est inconnu. Mais, si l'on observe que, dans sa revue des princes, Gildas va du Sud au Nord, on peut proposer les localisations suivantes :

1° Constantin roi de *Domnonia* (*Devon*) ; 2° Aurèle Conan (Aurelius Cuninus) roi d'une partie de *Domnonia*, soit le Cornwall actuel, soit une région à l'est du Devon [1] ; 3° Guortepyr (Vortipor) roi de Dyfed (*Demetae*) ou Sud-Galles ; 4° Cynglas (Cuneglasus) roi de Powys ou Centre-Galles [2] ; 5° Maelgwn (Maglocunus) roi de Gwynedd ou Nord-Galles.

Il y a des conclusions importantes à tirer de là :

1° Le territoire « breton » est déjà très restreint. Dès le milieu du VI^e^ siècle Gildas ne connaît comme tel que la région qui restera celtique jusqu'aux IX^e^ et X^e^ siècles [3]. La race infâme des Saxons a pullulé [4] et occupe certainement la majeure partie de l'île. Cependant, depuis les environs de l'année 500, elle est contenue. La victoire

1. H. Zimmer (*Nennius vindicatus*, p. 307) le place entre la *Domnonia* et la *Demetia*.

2. H. Zimmer pense que le petit état de Cynglas était entre les rivières Teifi et Dee.

3. Le Devon et les Bretons entre la Dee et la Clyde seront alors soumis aux Angles et aux Saxons, puis même anglicisés ; et les « Gallois » proprement dits refoulés à 60 kil. en deçà de la Severn. Laissant de côté la Calédonie (au nord de l'ancien mur dit d'Antonin), si l'on attribue aux « Bretons » un tiers encore de la Grande-Bretagne au temps de Gildas, on fait preuve d'optimisme.

4. Comme le reconnaît Gildas. Voy. plus haut, p. 243-244.

du Mont Badon a empêché les Bretons d'être jetés à la mer, et depuis lors règne une paix ininterrompue entre eux-mêmes et les Saxons [1] ;

2° Gildas ignore tout, ou semble ignorer tout, de l'histoire du nord de l'île [2]. Il ne nomme pas les Angles [3]. Il semble ne rien savoir des petits États bretons du Nord-Ouest, qui occupaient le North Lancashire, l'ouest du Yorkshire, le Cumberland [4], au nom significatif, et le Westmoreland ; pas un mot non plus de l'important royaume breton du Strathclyde, chef-lieu Dumbarton [5], enfoncé comme un coin dans le pays des Pictes [6], royaume que sa *Vita*, par un moine du Rhuis en Armorique, lui donne précisément comme patrie [7].

1. Voy. plus haut, p. 244.

2. Et aussi de la géographie. Il nomme la Tamise et la Severn (voy. page 3) et passe sous silence le Humber.

3. Ceux-ci n'auraient, il est vrai, constitué le royaume de Northumbrie qu'en 547, mais cette date n'a aucune autorité. On peut être assuré que les Angles sont maîtres du Nord dès le v[e] siècle. Sur ces questions voy. H. Munro Chadwick, *The origin of the english nation* (1907).

4. Le pays des *Cumbri*, entendez les *cymry*, c'est-à-dire les *cives*. Voy. plus haut, p. 240, note 1.

5. Ce nom, donné par les Scots, signifie « ville des Bretons » ; il est formé de *dun* (« ville » ou « forteresse » en irlandais) et de *Barton*.

6. Selon l'expression de Plummer dans son édition de l'*Historia Anglorum* de Bède (p. 128). Le royaume breton de la vallée de Clyde tomba comme on sait au pouvoir de la dynastie scottique de Kenneth Mac Alpine en 908. Il aurait dû se scottiser ; il s'anglicisa avec la dynastie. [Voy. encore J. Loth, dans les *C. R. des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1924, p. 130].

7. « Beatus Gilda Arecluta fertilissima regione oriundus, etc. » Tout ce début de la *Vita* est emprunté à un texte ancien, comme je l'ai fait remarquer dans mes *Mélanges d'histoire bretonne* (1907), p. 246-247. Mais il se pourrait qu'il ait été démarqué d'une vie de saint insulaire du Nord. — Dès le xvi[e] siècle on a si bien senti qu'il y avait antinomie entre le *De excidio* et la *Vita*

Évidemment il a vécu dans le Sud-Ouest de la Bretagne [1] et c'est la seule région à laquelle il s'intéresse et qu'il connaisse. Il a voyagé en Armorique [2] et en Irlande [3], mais ces déplacements n'ont sans doute pas été volontaires et il a peut-être dû fuir ces « tyrans » qu'il flagellait [4].

CONCLUSION

Au point de vue de l'histoire générale notre récolte a été des plus maigres.

Pour la première partie elle est nulle. L'auteur ne savait rien du passé de la Bretagne romaine. Lui-

qu'on a imaginé de dédoubler Gildas et d'opposer l'Albanien (de la vallée de la Clyde) au « Badonique » (cf. A. de La Borderie, p. 361). Voy. encore André Oheix, *Notes sur la Vie de saint Gildas* (Nantes, 1913, in-8°, 37 pages).

1. Je suis tout à fait d'accord sur ce point avec Zimmer. — Remarquer que pour Gildas, les Pictes et les Scots sont des gens du Nord (*aquilonares*). Les Scots d'Irlande sont dits venir du Nord-Ouest (*a circione*, cap. 14), ce qui est exact pour un habitant du Sud-Galles (*Demetia*) et surtout de la Domnonée.

2. Et il y serait mort selon la tradition. A l'époque où fut composé le *De excidio* Gildas ne semble pas connaître l'Armorique ou, du moins, s'y intéresser.

3. Les Annales irlandaises mentionnent son arrivée en Irlande en 565 et sa mort en 569 ou 570 (voy. les textes dans Mommsen, p. 6), sans dire malheureusement où il mourut. Je ne serais pas surpris qu'il ait fini en réalité ses jours en Irlande. [Par une lettre en date du 12 août 1923, mon éminent ami M. Joseph Loth veut bien m'informer que le nom de *Gildas* donné à Saint-Gildas de Rhuys est récent. La paroisse s'appelle Saint-Goustan et le monastère était dédié en réalité à saint Gueltas. L'auteur de la *Vita Gildae*, Vitalis, qui écrivait au XI^e^ siècle, a confondu, volontairement ou non, ce saint avec Gildas].

4. S'il s'est tu dix années, ainsi qu'il le dit au début de son *epistola* (voy. plus haut, p. 230), c'est qu'il a été longtemps dangereux pour lui d'écrire.

même en fait l'aveu : de documents indigènes il n'en subsiste point, nous dit-il ; [1] s'il en a existé ils ont péri dans les incendies allumés par l'ennemi ou bien ils ont été emportés au loin avec la flotte des citoyens s'exilant. [2] Il n'a connu que les « renseignements d'outre mer » [3] que de fréquentes lacunes rendent peu clairs. Cette *transmarina relatio,* on l'a vu, [4] consiste en quelques maigres passages empruntés à saint Jérôme, à Orose, à Rufin, à Sulpice Sévère, à une vie fabuleuse de saint Alban, à une lettre adressée à Aetius. Le reste n'est que bavardage ou imaginations insipides.

La seconde partie est un déluge d'invectives et une enfilade de citations des Pères. Mais, comme l'auteur est contemporain des personnages qu'il flétrit, il n'a pu résister au désir de les nommer du moins « les tyrans ». Ces renseignements, ou plutôt ces allusions, si insuffisantes soient-elles, n'en sont pas moins les bienvenues. Elles jettent une faible lumière et bien vacillante dans la nuit noire de l'histoire de la Grande-Bretagne au VI[e] siècle.

Ces pauvres données avivent nos regrets d'une manière cuisante. On songe avec douleur que Gildas, au lieu de coudre bout à bout ces citations de l'Écriture qui constituent exclusivement les chapitres 37 à 118, aurait pu

1. Chap. 4 : « illa tantum proferre conabor in medium quae temporibus imperatorum Romanorum et passa est et aliis intulit civibus et longe positis mala; quantum tamen potuero, nam tam ex scriptis patriae scriptorumve monimentis, quippe quae, vel si qua fuerint, aut ignibus hostium exusta aut civium exilii classe longius deportata non compareant, quam transmarina relatione, quae crebris inrupta intercapedinibus non satis claret. » (éd. Mommsen, p. 29).

2. Allusion à l'émigration bretonne en Amérique et en Galice. Ce passage, et aussi l'expression « transmarina relatio », semble indiquer que Gildas n'écrit pas sur le continent.

3. Sur le sens de cette expression voy. Mommsen, p. 7, note 1.

4. Voy. p. 234-236, 240.

nous fournir à la place une masse de renseignements précieux. Il faut nous résigner. Son but n'était pas de faire œuvre d'historien. La première partie n'est qu'un hors d'œuvre — il le déclare[1]. Le seconde n'a pour objet que de ramener au bien les pécheurs endurcis de Grande-Bretagne, particulièrement les princes et les clercs[2]. C'est sans le savoir, sans le vouloir qu'il a satisfait, pour mieux dire, excité notre curiosité en prononçant cinq à six noms, en racontant quelques faits ou plutôt en dévoilant la conduite scandaleuse des princes de son temps. A vrai dire, pendant une longue suite de siècles, personne n'a estimé intéressant et profitable de raconter tout bonnement ce qui se passait autour de lui. Un seul a eu cette idée, si simple, et nous a laissé, en dépit de sa gaucherie et de sa niaiserie, une œuvre incomparable, l'*Historia ecclesiastica Francorum*[3].

Presque nulle historiquement, l'œuvre de Gildas a exercé cependant une influence profonde. Par son allure romanesque, imprécise, déclamatoire, elle a habitué les esprits, surtout ceux de ses compatriotes, à traiter l'histoire des Bretons comme un domaine où la chimère peut se déployer librement. Sans Gildas il n'y aurait eu sans doute ni Nennius ni Gaufrey de Monmouth.

1. Voy. p. 249.

2. C'est un *tract for the Times,* dit spirituellement M. Hugh Williams (I, p. 38, note 1; cf. p. 40).

3. Et aussi, quoique dans une moindre mesure que Grégoire de Tours, Bède le Vénérable.

THE HELGI LAY AND IRISH LITERATURE

ELEANOR HULL

The long period of occupation and intercommunication between the Scandinavian nations and Ireland has left lasting marks on the literature, as well as upon the history, of both countries. From the events which stand at the very beginning of Icelandic chronicle, when hardy monks from Ireland, arriving off the coast of Iceland 'with their books, bells, and croziers', endeavoured to effect a settlement in those unpeopled and inhospitable wastes, to a late date in the thirteenth century (1263) when the Norse king, Hakon was invited by the Irish to come and liberate them from English rule, there had been no real break in the connection between these two peoples whom fate had thrown during nearly five centuries into the closest relationship one with the other. The Gaelic names occuring in Landnama-boc show the influx of Irish and Scottish settlers into Iceland; on the other hand,

the retention in the families of Irish chieftans of such Norse names as Sitric, Ivar (Imhar), Olaf (Amlaibh), Magnus, later to become Manus, and Ragnall, which developed into Reynolds, quite up to the fourteenth century in Ireland itself, proves how deep and permanent the union was. It was but natural that so close and lengthened an intimacy should have left many traces upon the literature of both countries, especially upon the literature of the North; for the Norse and Icelanders when they came first into contact with Irish tradition, can scarcely be said to have formulated their old legends into a literary form, while they found in Ireland a body of verse and prose fully developed, everywhere sung and recited about the country, and probably already beginning, at least, to be incorporated into written collections. The Northern skalds, coming freshly into touch with this fully formed literary tradition, could hardly fail to be effected by it. They were, in fact, very deeply effected by it, and we can see its influence on both of the two types of Icelandic literature which came into existence in the period of movement which we call the Viking period, during which the two races were in close and constant contact. These two forms of literary expression were the Edda and the Saga. Of the Saga it would take too long to speak here. The Sagas, we might think, are pure Icelandic home-tales, recording the happenings in the young colony, and the doings of the sons and grandsons of the settlers in the countries into which their restless energy led them to adventure themselves. But here at the outset we are struck by the fact that two of them bear Irish names, Cormac's Saga et Njal's Saga, while the latter portion of Njal's Saga, recounting the events of the Battle of Clontarf, is believed to be a portion of an older Brian's Saga. Nor can we forget that the main story in the great Laxdaela Saga is concerned with the life of an

Irish girl of high rank, the daughter of an Ulster King, who was captured in war and carried as a slave to Iceland; or that other sagas such as Thorstein Sidu Hall's son's Saga, are much occupied with events connected with Ireland. Some of these, especially Cormac's Saga, is permeated by a spirit that is wholly Irish, and has nothing in common with the terse, almost harsh style and simple emotions of the true Northern story. On the very surface of the saga we can discern the Irish finger-print.

The Eddic Lays, unlike the Sagas, are in verse. They were composed, as we know from certain indications, between the years 858-1000. They are pagan, almost untouched by Christianity, save for the prophetic dream of Baldr's death, which may be an echo of Christian teaching learned overseas. The Edda has little to do with the history of the Norse peoples or countries. It deals with wise saws and old sayings, with riddles and magic lore, with spells and savage rites, with legends of the pagan gods, Odin or Woden, Thor, Hel, Frygg and others, frost-giants, dwarfs and Elves. It is fragmentary and gives suggestions of a large body of belief of which only parts remain. The lays have been studied from various points of view by different writers, Norse, German and British, and various conclusions have been reached. In the great English edition, the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* of the Icelandic scholar Vigfusson, collaborating with the fine and ripe scholarship of Prof. F. York Powell, a conclusion is reached which is at first sight startling but which is upheld with no less warmth by the Norwegian writer, Dr Sophus Bugge. It is, that the Edda did not take its form in Iceland at all, but among the Icelanders settled in the western Isles and Ireland. They point out that there is in the Edda a character quite distinct from and unlike the character of the saga, the true product of Icelandic

genius. The dry clear grip of facts and the terse method of their expression in the Saga-tales is not found in the Eddic Lays; the homely details of Northern life give place to a vein of mysticism, an often intentional obscurity; a fairy or supernatural element enters, a suggestion of fantasy and occasionally of the grotesque. They point out that these lays contain a number of Gaelic words and what is more important, that the scenery, the trees mentioned, the animal life and the setting of the poems in general is that of southern regions, not of Iceland. The poems speak of the elm, the ash, the oak, the thorn and hazel, of the willow and garlic, with other plants not known in Iceland; of goats and swine, wolves on the waste, harts and deer with branching horns on the hill, watch-dogs and hunting-hounds, all rare or unfamiliar in Iceland. The people mentioned in them burn peat, a very Gaelic touch; and cups and cans, tables, wine and beer are named from Gaelic words. The harp, not mentioned in the sagas, is found in an Eddic Lay.

Without overstraining the matter, it is yet certain that all these points of resemblance are not accidental. The influences of western life and western thought are deeply impressed on the Edda; and as time goes on and the literature of both countries becomes better known, fresh points of contact are likely to be discovered. It is not necessary, as these editors seem to have thought, to conclude that the Edda was entirely composed in the west; its roots lie deep in the old beliefs and traditions of the North, common alike to the Scandinavian and Teutonic peoples; much of it was also part of the literary legacy of England and the west. But they have evidently been moulded into their present form by men aware of western ways and manners and who had lived for part of their lives, at least, in contact with western civilization.

Bugge even thinks that the Helgi Lay, undoubtedly one of the great imaginative creations of Northern literature, shows so close a dependence upon the Irish story of Ross na Rig, that he believes that the author of this poem must have lived for a time in Dublin at the Danish court of King Sitrygg at the date of the battle of Clontarf (1014) and heard the story recited by Irish bards. Thus he thinks the Helgi Lay was not composed until after that date, probably about 1020 or later.

Whether the poet was so dependent as Bugge thinks upon the Irish story of Ross na Rig, a composite piece which unites an old Irish tale with a late Norse tradition and is coloured by the actual occurences at the Battle of Clontarf, we need not here discuss. His arguments are fully set out in his 'Home of the Eddic Poems', and his examples are certainly noteworthy. If Dr Bugge had drawn on a wider field of Irish literature, instead of confining himself to a single tract, his parallels might have been strengthened considerably. I propose here to take a couple of further instances of resemblances in the same Lay, merely as suggesting the wide possibilities of this line of study.

The Helgi lays form a brief trilogy. The main incident is the meeting of a woman on the battle-field on the night after a battle with the ghost of her dead lover, slain in the fray. His spirit returns from the burial howe for a brief visit to perform his promised tryst with her after the field is won. It is a family feud, in which Helgi the lover slays Sigrun's father and brother and is himself slain by her younger brother Dag, on whom Sigrun calls down every curse when he comes to tell her of the deed. Helgi she praises as 'a noble ash among the thorns when he sat among other kings, or as it were a young hart flecked with dew, his towering antlers glittering against the very heaven'.

Late as it is, she still is sure that Helgi will keep faith, even if he must come from the halls of Woden to accomplish it. Yet as it grows dark her hope becomes fainter, for the eagles are sitting on the limbs of the ash and all the household are thronging to the Assembly of Dreams. She sends her handmaid to watch for him. The handmaid sees Helgi and his company riding by in the heavy gloom and she cries out : — « Is it a phantom that I seem to see or is the Doom of the Powers come ? Can dead men ride, or have ye been granted leave to come home ? » Helgi answers : — « No mere phantom is this ye think ye see... but we have been granted leave to come home. Come out, O Sigrun from Sevafell, if thou dost desire to see thy Lord. The barrow is open, Helgi is come, on him the sword-prints are gory. The king bids thee stay the bleeding of his wounds..... It is time for me to ride along the reddening roads, to let my fallow steed tread the paths of air..... I must be west of Windhelm's bridge (the sky bridge or rainbow) before Salgofner (chanticleer) awakes the mighty host. »

Sigrun arises to meet her lord. She falls on her dead lover's neck and kisses him. « I am as glad to meet thee as are the greedy hawks of Woden when they scent the slain, their warm prey, or dew-bespangled espy the brows of dawn. I will kiss thee, my dead king, ere thou cast off thy bloody coat of mail. Thy hair, my Helgi, is thick with rime, thy body is drenched with gory dew, thy hands are cold and dank. How shall I set thee free, my Lord ? »

« It is thine own act, Sigrun from Sevafell, that Helgi is drenched with deadly dew. Thou weepest cruel tears, thou gold-dight, sun-bright lady of the south, before thou goest to sleep ; every one of them falls bloody, dank-cold, chilly, fraught with sobs, upon my breast.... Let no man chant wailing dirges though

he see the wounds upon my breast. » Sigrun speaks : — « I have made thee a bed here, Helgi, a very painless bed, thou son of the Wolfings. I shall sleep in thine arms, O King, as I should wert thou yet alive. » And Helgi said : — « Now I swear, there shall never be a greater marvel. early or late, at Sevafell. For thou, the white daughter of Hogni, art sleeping in the arms of the dead ; thou, a King's daughter, art come down alive into the barrow. »

Here is a fine and tragic tale some elements of which are well-known in the folk-lore of many countries. The belief that the ghost of the dead man returns to his home after death and revisits for the last time the scene and the companions of his earthly life before he finally departs to the land of shades is common to the folk-lore of Ireland, Scotland, Brittany and many other countries.

There are ballads and stories, too, where the spirit returns to its home and prays for the shelter of its own accustomed place for the night. The dropping of the tears of the mourners upon the dead being felt like heavy weights, and hurting the spirit of the departed, is also a well-known folk-lore motive. But the episode of the woman seeking her lover in the death-barrow or the tomb is less common, and here the tragedy is heightened by the terrors of the battle-field, the gory wounds of the dead hero and the high descent and splendour of them both, for he is the off-spring of the Wolfings and Sigrun is a Valkyrie maid. But Irish literature furnishes us with an almost exact parallel in an old poem probably dating, in its original form, from the 9-10 centuries[1], both the Irish poem and the Helgi lay having therefore been

1. The poem is printed in *Fianaigecht,* ed. Kuno Meyer, *(Todd Lectures).* Vol. xvi, pp. 1-21).

composed in the full tide of the Viking period. The hero is here, too, of godlike birth, for he was the third of a triad of deities, born at one birth, the One god (Oen-dia), the Strong-god (Tren-dia), and the Fair-god (Cāin-dia), the diadem of a household and a host. He had a war-band of famous warriors, distinguished for dress and fierceness beyond all the warriors of his time. He was noble of shape and appearance. The wife of Ailill Flann *bec* fell in love with him. She too was of great beauty. Like Helgi, Cāindia goes to war to win his lady, and he falls by the hand of the aggrieved Ailill. As in the Helgi Lay, the woman comes to tryst with him that night, as she had promised him, but she finds that it is his ghost that comes to converse with her. She finds his head separated from his body on the battle-field and she carries it to him in the grave where he is and then, in hushed tones, he sings this song to her:

Hush, woman, do not speak to me: my thoughts are not with thee;
My thoughts are still in the encounter at Feic.
My bloody corpse lies by the side of the Slope of two Brinks,
My head all unwashed among the warrior-bands in fierce slaughter.
It is blindness for anyone making a tryst to set aside the tryst with death;
The tryst that was made at Clarach has been kept by me in pale death.

He tells her that he has come from afar to tryst with her, and he describes the fight and the valour of his followers, 'the wonderful yew-forest that has gone into the house of clay' as he calls them in true Norse style; and then, as Helgi appealed to Sigrun, so he appeals to her to return to her home before the break of day.

Stay not for the terror of night on the battle-field among
the resting-places of the hosts;
It is not well to hold converse with the dead, away to thy
home, take with thee my spoils.
The dusky ousel laughs a greeting to the faithful,
Spectral my speech, my aspect; hush, woman, do not
speak to me!

We need not contend that the form of the Irish story can bear comparison with the sombre splendour of the Helgi Lay, but the similarities in the general idea and in many of the details are striking. For instance, in the Irish poem the dead man must depart when 'the dusky blackbird laughs a greeting to the faithful'; in the Helgi Lay the lover must return to the barrow 'before Salgofner awakes the mighty host'.

Dr Bugge would make this word Salgofner mean the beaked bird or cock of the hall, that is Chanticleer, deriving « gof » from the Gaelic word *Gob*, 'a beak' still used in Irish and Scottish dialects for the mouth, that is, 'a beaked bird'. If this derivation is correct, it shows an undoubted Gaelic influence in the lay.

Very Irish points in the Helgi Lay, too, are the re-birth of the hero, the wicker-shields and bronze swords, the animals and flora named. A purely Irish touch is Sigrun's assurance to Helgi that 'she had loved him long before he had seen her', a commonplace in Irish story, where the woman always loves first. So also is the expression used by the monster Rimegerd when Helgi asks whether one fairy-maid alone had saved her ship or were there more together? She replies, 'Three nines of maids; but one rode foremost, a white maid, enhelmed'. In Irish romance, the counting by three nines is one of the commonest conventions.

This brings me to a striking parallel with another part of the Helgi story found in Irish literature. It is curious that Dr Bugge did not notice it.

The Eddic story opens with the assembling of Helgi's battle-fleet to attack Hothbrodd; he sends messengers over sea to summon troops to his aid, and a splended fleet assembles. But on sailing out to sea it encounters a terrible storm: — 'When the billow and the long keels dashed together, it sounded as if the breakers and the cliffs were dashing against one another.... The seamen did not hold back from the meeting with the billows, when Ægir's daughter (the billow) wished to trip up the steeds guided by the stays (*i. e.*, the ships). Bugge rightly points out that in the Irish tale of Ross na Rig, with which he is comparing the passage, similar messages appealing for help are sent out, and a similar storm is encountered. The great naval armament collected in the Hebrides and Norway sails forth and reaches the current of the Mull of Cantyre, that dangerous passage between the North of Ireland and Scotland so dreaded by the early seamen, called in Irish *Sruth na Mhoel* or Moyle, *i. e.* the Stream of the Headland or Mull. 'And there a green surge of the tremendous sea rose before them, and the seals and walruses and crane-heads and whiteheads.... and the many billows of the vast sea rose for them too. Such was the strength of the hurricane that arose upon them, that the fleet parted in three'.

In the Norse tale, Ægir's daughter tries to prevent the ships advancing; in the Northern 'kenning', she tries to 'trip up the steeds' which are guiding the ships; and the 'King's billow-deer (his ship)' has to 'twist itself by main strength out of the hand of Ran', the sea-giantess, Ægir's wife, who is bent on holding it fast. The swift sea-race between Antrim and Cantyre, so apt to catch and submerge vessels, is thus conceived of as the hand of the ocean goddess, catching them from below, and holding them fast.

Now there is an exact parallel to this in an early

Irish story, put into verse as one of the Dindshenchas or old poetic romances relating to various places in Ireland. It is, too, partly a Norse story. An Irish prince Ruad, son of Rigdonn, fares forth on a journey to Norway, to converse with his friend the Norseman. He starts from the North of Ireland with three boats. They too are caught and held by the same terrible whirlpool, and have no power to stir in any direction. To find out what is holding the boat, Ruad dives into the water and swims to the secret spot in its depths from which the ship is being held. He finds nine fair female forms, who have captured the boat, in order to induce Ruad to come to them. He stays with them nine nights and each sea-nymph gives him a ship of bronze, such as the fairy queens always use in the Irish legends of the Land of Youth or Tir na n-Og. Then they let him go his way to Norway and loosen the fastenings of the boat.

He promises that he will return that way and visit them again, but after seven years spent in seeking fame in the North, he has entirely forgotten the sea-maidens, and he returns to the south of Ireland, avoiding the whirlpool of the North. When the maidens knew this, they sailed in a boat of flawless bronze, nine of them, fierce, radiant, bright, pursuing Ruad with the spear-point over the impetuous clear-streaming tide, singing in their pure mellow sweet-sounding speech a fierce martial strain [1].

Here then we have a tradition evidently common to both peoples and taken directly the one from the other, one out of a multitude of instances showing the interaction between the two literatures, during the long period of close connection between the two nations.

1. *Inber n-Ailbine*, in *Metrial Dindshenchas*, Part II, ed. Edward Gwynn, 1906, and see *Tochmarc Émire*, Z. C. P. III, 243.

MELLIFONT FILLE DE CLAIRVAUX

J. VENDRYES

A cinq milles et demi à l'Ouest de la ville de Drogheda, dans ce comté de Louth, si riche en monuments historiques et préhistoriques, se trouvent les restes du monastère de Mellifont. On y accède en remontant la vallée d'un tributaire de la Boyne, le Mattock. Bien que bordé par ce cours d'eau, le site, encadré de coteaux dénudés, est aujourd'hui sans grâce et paraît peu digne du joli nom qu'il porte ; mais ce nom est conforme aux appellations poétiques et pittoresques dont les disciples de Robert de Molesme et de Bernard de Clairvaux aimaient à égayer les solitudes où ils venaient se retirer [1]. Il s'agit en effet

1. Sur le nom de Mellifont, voir *Mellifont Abbey, a guide and popular history*, published by James Duffy and Co, Dublin, 1897, p. 39 et suiv. D'après la vie latine de saint Boèce, fondateur du monastère qui porte son nom (Monasterboice), le nom de Mellifont serait bien antérieur à l'établissement des cisterciens. C'est saint Boèce lui-même qui tout enfant aurait fait jaillir la source de Mellifont en posant sa main sur le sol, de façon à fournir de l'eau pour son propre baptême (cf. C. Plummer, *Vit. Sanct. Hibern.*, I, 87) ; saint Boèce serait mort en 519 ou 523 (id., *ibid.*,

d'un monastère cistercien, le premier qui ait été fondé en Irlande. Après avoir brillé d'un vif éclat pendant quatre siècles, il subit le même sort que beaucoup d'établissements catholiques de l'Irlande : supprimé en 1539, puis sécularisé et vendu à des particuliers, il fut peu à peu abandonné et détruit.

Ce qui en reste aujourd'hui est assez misérable. La principale ruine est celle d'une haute tour carrée dont un côté seulement est intact et qui marque au bord de la route l'entrée de l'enceinte ; c'est l'ancienne porterie. Du monastère même on ne voit plus guère s'élever au dessus du sol que la partie principale d'une salle capitulaire, où divers débris de sculpture ont été rassemblés, et l'un des côtés du lavabo, qui était de forme octogonale et dont ce qui subsiste est charmant. En revanche, la vue est offusquée par une grande bâtisse moderne, un moulin, qui ferme le paysage du côté de la rivière et semble avoir été planté là comme une suprême insulte à tant de gloire abolie. La destruction de Mellifont a été accomplie avec une haine savante et tenace. Heureusement des travaux intelligemment conduits depuis une cinquantaine d'années ont mis au jour les fondations du monastère. Le plan de l'ensemble est inscrit sur le sol, dessiné par la ligne des murs et la base des piliers. L'enseignement qui s'en dégage n'a pas, semble-t-il, obtenu toute l'attention qu'il mérite.

A en croire certains manuels d'archéologie médiévale, on dirait que l'Irlande englobée dans les Iles Britanniques n'a pas d'histoire propre au point de vue des relations internationales et n'a subi que par l'intermédiaire de l'Angleterre les influences parties du continent.

I, xxxvi). Mais on ne peut savoir de quand date la légende en question ; il est vraisemblable qu'elle a été introduite dans la vie de saint Boèce pour faire profiter ce dernier de la gloire acquise par le monastère de Mellifont.

L'ouvrage de M. C. Enlart (t. I, p. 477) enseigne que l'ordre de Citeaux n'a porté en Angleterre que peu de modèles français ; il ne dit rien de l'Irlande. Dehio et Bezold dans leur ouvrage classique, *die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1884), consacrent un chapitre à l'architecture cistercienne (p. 517-540); il y est bien question de l'Angleterre (p. 536), mais l'Irlande y est oubliée. Il est vrai que l'Angleterre fut pour les pays voisins un centre de rayonnement de l'architecture cistercienne [1]. La fameuse abbaye de Waverley, la plus ancienne d'Angleterre, qui fut suivie de celles de Tintern et de Quarr et sur le modèle de laquelle furent bâties Fountains et Roche, inspira les principales abbayes du Pays de Galles [2]. En Ecosse, la plus ancienne abbaye cistercienne vint d'Angleterre : c'est celle de Melrose (Roxburghshire), sur la Tweed, fille de Rievaulx (Yorkshire); elle fut fondée en 1136 à l'instigation du roi David Ier (1084-

1. Waverley, fille de l'Aumône (diocèse de Chartres), fut fondée en 1129 près de Farnham (Surrey); Tintern (Monmouthshire), autre fille de l'Aumône, fut fondée en 1131 et Quarr (île de Wight) en 1132. Fountains est située près de Ripon (Yorkshire), et Roche, fondée en 1147, près de Rotherham. Sur les abbayes cisterciennes d'Angleterre, voir Alice M. Cooke, dans *English Historical Review*, t. VIII, 1893, p. 625 et suiv. (carte, p. 632) et J. Bilson dans *The Archaeological Journal*, 1909, p. 185-280.

2. Les principales abbayes cisterciennes du Pays de Galles (v. Alice M. Cooke, *l. cit.*, p. 667) furent : Tygwynn ar Daf (Whitland, Carmarthenshire), fondée en 1140 et véritable mère des abbayes cisterciennes en Galles; Cwmhir (près Penybont, Radnorshire), fille de Whitland, fondée en 1143 par Cadwallon ab Madoc ; Margam (Glamorganshire), fondée en 1147 par Robert de Gloucester ; Neath et Basingwerke (près Holywell, Flintshire), fondées en 1147; Llan Egwestyl (Valle Crucis, près Llangollen, Denbighshire), fondée en 1200 par Madawc ab Gruffydd Maelor; Ystrad Fflur (Strata Florida, près Tregaron, Cardiganshire) ; Ystrad Marchell (Strata Marcella, près Welshpool, Montgomeryshire).

1153) [1]. En Norvège, l'abbaye de Lysa, fondée en 1146, était fille de Fountains. En Irlande même l'influence monastique anglo-normande se manifesta dès que l'invasion militaire eût commencé. L'abbaye cistercienne de Dunbrody (Co. Waterford) fut fondée en 1179 (ou 1182) par Hervey de Montemarisco, maréchal du roi Henri II, qui en fut le premier abbé. A peu près à la même date, Donald Mor O'Brien fondait l'abbaye de Corcomroe (en Kilfenora, Co. Clare) sur le modèle de Furness (Lancashire) ; et l'abbaye anglaise de Tintern eut en Irlande une fille qu'on appela Tintern minor. Mais la fondation de Mellifont appartient à une période un peu antérieure et se fit sous une influence tout autre [2]. Nous en connaissons le détail d'une façon précise par la biographie que saint Bernard consacra à son fondateur, saint Malachie.

Ce n'est pas le lieu de rappeler quel homme fut saint Malachie (Mael Maedoc Ua Morgair), et quel rôle éminent il joua pour ramener l'ordre et la discipline dans l'église d'Irlande. Ce rôle a été bien mis en lumière par M. H. J. Lawlor dans l'édition qu'il a donnée de la Vie de saint Malachie (*Saint Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of saint Malachy of Armagh*, Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, 1920 ; cf. *Rev. Celtique*, t. XXXVIII, p. 338). C'est à l'instigation de saint Bernard, qu'il était venu visiter à Clairvaux en se rendant à Rome, qu'il fonda l'abbaye de Mellifont. Cette

1. Toutefois l'abbaye cistercienne de Soulseat (à 8 milles de Cairngarroch) fut fondée en 1148 par saint Malachie dans le dernier voyage qu'il fit à Clairvaux avant d'y mourir (v. *Life of saint Malachy*, éd. Lawlor, § 68, où l'endroit est appelé Viride stagnum). Malachie mit comme abbé à Soulseat un de ses miraculés, Michel, qui avait appartenu à la communauté de Bangor (*ibid.*, § 15).

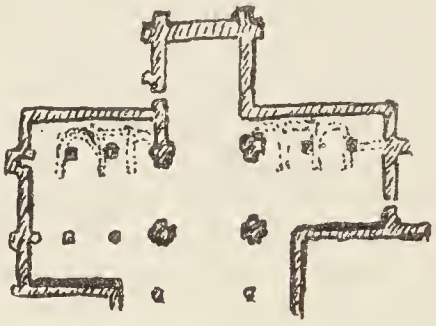
2. Voir Edmund Curtis, *History of Mediaeval Ireland*, p. 38 c. n.

fondation eut lieu en 1142 grâce à l'appui du roi d'Oriel Donough O'Carroll qui concéda le terrain (v. Lawlor, *op. cit.*, p. 75 et 170). Malachie avait laissé à Clairvaux quatre de ses moines parmi lesquels Christian (Gilla Crist Ua Condoirche), en vue de les initier aux règles et aux pratiques de saint Bernard. Quand il eut décidé de construire Mellifont, il les rappela en Irlande; et ils revinrent accompagnés d'un certain nombre de moines de Clairvaux. La construction avança rapidement : au bout de quelque temps il parut toutefois utile de demander à Clairvaux des instructions complémentaires. Christian refit donc le voyage de France, ramenant avec lui les moines français. Il revint seul en Irlande et, quand le monastère fut achevé, il en fut le premier abbé. Mellifont, fille de Clairvaux, marque ainsi avant l'invasion anglo-normande une pénétration en Irlande d'esprit français, de style français. Dans l'histoire des relations intellectuelles et artistiques entre la France et l'Irlande, la fondation de Mellifont est une date des plus importantes [1].

Il faut laisser aux archéologues compétents le soin d'examiner dans quelle mesure les restes de Mellifont conservent les dispositions de l'architecture cistercienne. On se bornera ici à une simple remarque qui

1. Mellifont eut à son tour plusieurs filles en Irlande (cf. L. Gougaud, *Les Chrétientés celtiques*, p. 364 et Lawlor, *op. cit.*, p. 76) : Bective fondée en 1147 (Co. Meath, à 3 milles 1/2 au S. de Navan), Boyle fondée en 1148 (en Elphin, Co. Roscommon), Nenagh fondée en 1148 (Co. Limerick), Baltinglas fondée en 1148 (Co. Wicklow), etc. On en trouvera la liste dans le vieil ouvrage de Gaspar Jongelinus, *Origines ac progressus ordinis Cistertiensis abbatiarum*, 1641, et dans celui du P. Leopold Janauschek, *Origines cistercienses*, Wien, 1877. Sur l'abbaye de Bective, on pourra consulter un article de Harold G. Leask dans le *Journal of the R. Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. XLVI (1916), p. 46-57. D'après Bilson, *loc. cit.*, p. 207, l'église de l'abbaye de Boyle avait le plan carré de Kirkstall-Fontenay.

concerne le chevet de l'église. L'église de Mellifont avait sans doute été commencée du vivant de Malachie ; mais elle ne fut consacrée qu'en 1157, neuf ans après sa mort. L'état actuel des ruines permet de reconnaître aisément le plan du chevet. Il s'agit d'un chevet carré cantonné par trois chapelles également carrées sur chaque bras du transept. C'est le plan cistercien classique. Il se retrouve par exemple dans les églises de La Cour-Dieu (Loiret) et de Kirkstall (v. Bilson, *The Arch. Journ.*, 1909, p. 278, plate XXVI) aussi bien que



dans l'église primitive de Pontigny (Yonne) ; voir l'article de M. André Philippe dans le tome LXXIV de la collection des Congrès Archéologiques (1907, Avallon), p. 202. A Fontenay (Côte-d'Or) et à Roche (Yorkshire), le plan était le même, sauf qu'on y comptait de chaque côté de l'abside deux chapelles au lieu de trois. Mais à Mellifont ce plan n'était pas celui de l'église primitive. Des vestiges, reconnaissables au milieu du chœur, présentent la trace d'un plan plus ancien. De chaque côté du chevet, qui était peut-être déjà rectangulaire, s'ouvraient bien trois absidioles sur chaque bras du transept. Mais elles n'étaient pas toutes carrées comme dans la construction qui les remplaça. Une seule, celle du milieu, avait cette forme ; et elle était flanquée d'absidioles semi-circulaires, voûtées sans doute en cul de four. Le croquis ci-dessus, copié du guide de

l'abbaye, présente en traits pleins le plan du chevet de l'église reconstruite et en pointillé les vestiges du plan primitif.

Cette disposition originale avait dû être rapportée de Clairvaux par Christian. Saint Bernard avait demandé à Malachie de s'inspirer de Clairvaux pour construire Mellifont. Nous savons par ailleurs quel soin il prenait d'envoyer quelques-uns de ses moines les plus expérimentés pour diriger les constructions nouvelles ; c'est ainsi que le vieux moine de Clairvaux Geoffroy d'Ainai alla diriger les travaux à Fountains et que le moine Achard fut envoyé comme maître d'œuvre dans plusieurs monastères nouvellement fondés de France et d'Allemagne (Bilson, *loc. cit.*, p. 196). Or, Clairvaux fut rebâti à partir de 1133 ou 1135, et sur un plan dont le chevet avait la disposition carrée qui est celle de La Cour-Dieu, de Pontigny (v. ci-dessus) et de Mellifont seconde manière [1]. Faut-il donc croire que la première manière de Mellifont représente le plan primitif de Clairvaux, antérieurement à la réfection de 1135? ou n'est-ce qu'une simple ébauche, qu'une tentative de création originale, qui fut abandonnée au profit du plan cistercien classique et peut-être du vivant même de Malachie, à la suite du second voyage de Christian à Clairvaux? Il suffisait de poser ici la question pour montrer l'intérêt qu'offrent les ruines de Mellifont aux historiens de l'architecture cistercienne [2].

1. On sait d'ailleurs qu'à Clairvaux, comme à Pontigny, le chevet fut transformé dans la suite et pourvu d'une abside circulaire.

2. Depuis que cet article a été écrit et envoyé à l'impression, M. E. Lambert a signalé une disposition comparable à la première manière de Mellifont dans le chevet des églises de Valbuena (Castille) et de Tudela (Navarre) ; v. *Bulletin Monumental*, tome 83 (1924), p. 222.

THE CHILDREN IN THE TREE

ROSE JEFFRIES PEEBLES

In many of the versions of the *Perceval*, the grail-quester just before he reaches the Grail Castle goes through a significant adventure. It is usually described as the adventure of the Perilous Chapel — sometimes, indeed, in summaries of the episode, accompanying details that are of genuine importance to the understanding of the whole experience are not noticed at all. It is to one of these accompanying details that I wish to call attention especially. Since, however, this detail is closely connected with others that make up a group, I shall deal briefly with the entire episode.

In much condensed summary the episode in Wauchier's continuation of chrétien's *Perceval* is as follows: (1) Perceval riding through a wood sees a wonderful tree in the branches of which there is a beautiful child holding an apple in its hand. (2) Perceval asks if he is on the right road to the Fisher King' s. (3) The child tells him nothing of the Fisher King, but advises him to go on the next day to Mont Dolorous where

he will learn tidings to his profit. (4) Mont Dolorous. (5) He sees a tree upon which there are many lights. (6) He comes to a chapel upon the altar of which there is a dead knight ; he is aware of a great light ; a black hand extinguishes the light on the altar. (7) A huntsman tells him he is near the castle. (8) A damsel informs him that the child in the tree, the chapel and the black hand have connection with the grail. (9) He arrives at the Fisher King's [1].

Wauchier gives also an account of Gawain's coming to a crossway in the forest, where he finds a great and fair chapel. The altar is bare except for a great candlestick, in which burns a tall taper. The candle is extinguished by a black hand, whereupon the chapel rocks and a voice is heard in lamentation. When Gawain makes the sign of the cross the storm abates. He then arrives at the Grail Castle [2].

In Manessier's continuation, only the tree with the lights on it appears ; there are no children in the tree, which is described as a fay tree bearing deceptive lights. Perceval puts an end to the illusion of the tree, and also strives with the black hand, here said to represent the devil. A fearful storm rages during the struggle [3].

In Gerbert's continuation the adventure begins at a crossway. Perceval arrives at a place where three roads meet, and is directed by a cross that stands there to the Fisher King's. Neither the lighted tree nor the tree with the children in it here appears [4].

In the Didot *Perceval*, an interesting reference to the crossways precedes Perceval's adventure there :

1. Potvin, ll. 33764, ff.
2. Potvin, ll. 19913, ff.
3. Potvin, ll. 35348, ff.
4. Potvin, VI, p. 255.

when Gawain, Perceval, Sagremors, Bedvers, Hurgains and Erec set out on their quest of the Fisher King's castle, they come to a place where four roads meet, and there they see a chapel, a tree, and a cross. Gawain then proposes that they separate and each pursue his own adventure. Only Perceval's quest is followed [1].

Perceval, after the adventure of the « gué perillos », in which, amidst noise and fumes, he overthrows Urbain, and so shows himself the best knight in the world, reaches the cross-roads a second time.

Lors guarda devant lui et vit .I. de plus beaux arbres del monde el quarrefor de .IIII. voies, joste une croiz. Qant Percevaus le vit, si torna cele part et si arresta grant pièce por l'arbre reguarder ; et si comme il le reguardait, si vit desus .II. enfanz et coroient touz nuz de branche en branche. Estoit chascun de l'aage de .VII. anz. Et qant il les ot assez reguardez, si les conjura par le père et par le fiz et par le saint esperit, que il le déissent se il estoient de par Deu. Li enfanz respondirent : « Biaus amis Percevaus, saches que par Deu vivons-nos et de cest paradis terrestre d'ouc Adam fust geté, venimes-nos paller à toi par la volenté du saint esperit. Tu es entré en l'anqueste du Graal que Brons vostre aiol guarde que l'en apele, en maintes terres, le riche roi Péchéor. Or tien icèle voie à destre par devant toi et saches que tu en sois issuz, verras-tu tele chose et orras par quoi tu feniras ton travail se tu es ceux que venir y doies ». Et sitot come il orent ce dit, Perce se reguarda et ne vit ne l'arbre, les enfanz, ne la croiz, si en ot grant et pensa se il iroit la voie que li enfant li avoient enseygnié.

Si come il pensoit, si vit .I. grant ombre devant lui aler et venir, si passa plus de .VII. foiz, et qant Perce-

1. Hucher, *Saint Graal*, I, p. 428.

vaus vit se, si seygna et li cheval, desouz lui, huissoit de grant paor. Si tôt come Percevaus si fust seygné, issi une voir du ciel et ombre qu'il li dit : « N'aies pas en despit ce que les enfanz t'ont dit, quar ancois que issus du chemin, tu orras et verras tel chose dont tu auras acompli ton travail se tu es ceux que venir y doies et ore auras acomplie la prophécie que notre sires commenda[1] ».

The Modena version differs very little from the Didot; the children are six years old, and Merlin speaks from a great shadow, and tells Perceval to follow the directions of the children, and fulfill the prophecy made by God to Joseph. The adventure ends in the usual way : almost immediately Perceval comes to a beautiful river on which in a boat he sees three men. When he approaches the boat, he discovers in it a very old man lying on rich cloths, and this « preudom » is the Fisher King, who asks Perceval to pass the night at his castle and who tells him how to find it.

In these accounts of the adventure which begins at the crossways it will be seen that the details vary : there may be a cross, a tree upon which there are many lights, a tree in which there are two children or one child, a chapel.

The Perilous Chapel has been explained by the romancers themselves. The chapel seems to represent the land of the dead. In the *Queste*, the dead body of the slain knight symbolizes not only the dead, but those who have died in sin, « as in Christ's time when they slew Him ». In general it may be said that the quester is tested at the Perilous Chapel by an encounter with the devil, here typifying death [2].

1. Hucher, *Saint Graal*, I, pp. 462, 463.

2. See Miss Weston's chapter on the Perilous Chapel, in which she takes the episode to be the story of an initiation. *From Ritual to Romance*, Cambridge University Press, 1920.

After this struggle with death, or evil, or the powers of darkness, he passes into the presence of the representative of life itself, the Fisher King. But first he encounters the children in the tree, who are guides to the otherworld, the place where the mystery of life is to be discovered. In some versions of the story, the children in the tree are replaced by the cross, or the lighted tree — all symbols of light or life; in some there is duplication, and then all the variants appear. The present paper can attempt only to indicate the importance of all these symbols. Taken together they reveal more fully the meaning of the adventure.

It is no accident that places the marvellous trees, the cross and the chapel at a point where four roads meet. From very ancient times crossroads have been associated with both good and evil powers. Images were placed there, it is conjectured, at first to counteract the forces of evil, and then in course of time were taken to represent the divinity of the crossroads. Certainly such worship was mingled with fear of demoniac influences. Ghosts, spirits and demons are supposed to haunt crossroads. Devils are expelled there and witches are also got rid of at such spots. In England until 1823, it was the custom to bury a suicide at a crossroad, with a stake driventh rough his body, and a stone placed over his face. It is not unnatural that men passed such places in fear. R. Wünsch suggests that Roman deities of crossways were divine patrons of roads and so of travellers. They were also the guardians of the soil! At crossroads in Japan, phallic symbols were set up as a protection to travellers. In the Hindu Gṛhya Sūtra, visiting a crossroad at twilight, lighting a fire there, offering rice and repeating charms, together with other ritual observances, is recommended to those who desire a long life, or who wish to be rulers. That these ideas were by no means

extinct even in the middle ages is shown by the fact that the practice of lighting candles and offering sacrifices at the crossroads [1] was not infrequently, condemned.

Another bit of evidence is of interest both because the custom as indicated by the name of the cross is of great antiquity, and because of its late survival. Hartland refers to an old spot in Belgium, halfway between Braine l'Allard and the wood of Le Foriet, where « two hollow, and therefore doubtless very ancient, roads cross one another. Two aged pine-trees are planted at the top of the bank at one of the corners ; and formerly there stood between them a cross, which has disappeared ». It was a very ancient custom to bury in the pines and in the cross, pins or nails which had previously been in contact with the person who wished to be cured. It was resorted to for the cure of certain diseases as late as 1891. The place was called A l'crwe Saint Zè. St. Etto's Cross, in honor of a St. Etto who was an Irish missionary to these parts in the seventh century. It is clear from even this slight discussion, which could be greatly extended, that the crossroads were places of dread and reverence.

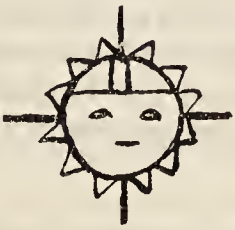
The cross itself, which in this episode is sometimes found there, adds support to the belief that all the details here brought together possess symbolical importance. Again we are dealing with well-known and very ancient and widespread ideas wich can only be touched upon here. The Christian symbol of immortality replaced a much older symbol of life. The presence of the cross in Central America is said to have astonished Columbus and his companions. It is now

1. See for suggestive discussion of the whole matter, J. A. Mac Culloch, *Cross-roads,* Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

known that this cross was designed to represent the four quarters from which rain comes and so also the winds that blow from the four cardinal points. It was called the « world tree », the « tree of life », the « tree of our flesh » [1].

Some illustrations of these early crosses are of rich suggestiveness in this connection. A cross representing the four winds, by the Dakotas, shows man's relation to these forces.

Here the arrow represents the north wind, the heart, the east wind, the sun, the south wind, and the star the west wind. The center is the earth and man. Another taken from a petroglyph at Oakley Springs is likewise striking, combining as it does the sun and the cross [2].



1. A. Réville, *Religions du Mexique*, Paris, 1885, p. 91.
2. G. Mallery, *Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology*, X, 1893, fig. 1225, fig. 1118.

The tree burning with many lights is also a well-known life symbol. Perhaps no better way to show how familiar the ideas here considered were can be found than to quote a brief general summary made by Barns to indicate the strong hold of the tree over the minds of men in ancient times : « It rests on the earliest conceptions of the unity of life in nature, in the sense of communion and fellowship with the divine center and source of life. The oak of Mamre, the ash Yggdrasil, the asherah, the oak of Dodona, the *Ficus ruminalis*, the Bodhi-trees, the pine-cones, and the seven branched candle-stick, even the modern Christmas-tree with its lights and its fruit and its fillets, are instances of the vast area, in folk-lore, tradition, and social custom which has been influenced by early reverence for the sacred tree..... In the earliest stage the sacred tree is more than a symbol. It is instinct with divine life, aglow with divine light » [1]. This summary was made with no thought of course of the use of these ideas in the romances.

The light bearing tree was familiar in the middle ages. An Icelandic legend records one at Mödhrufell, a mountain ash which had sprung from the blood of two innocent persons who had been executed there [2]. Mannhardt refers to a maybush, placed in the center of the market place in Dublin, filled with lights. Certain significant relics such as the skull of a horse and other bones were placed in a heap near the tree and the whole thing was burned [3]. In the Obererzgebirge people dance around the « Johannisbaum » at the time of the

1. Thomas Barns, *Trees and Plants*, Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, XII, 1922. J. H. Philpot, *The Sacred Tree*. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, see *tree* in index.

2. J. H. Philpot, *The Sacred Tree*, p. 171.

3. W. Mannhardt, *Wald und Feldkulte*, 1904, p. 178.

summer solstice. The tree is gaily decorated and at night is filled with burning candles [1]. The importance at weddings of trees with candles burning on them should also be noted. They are of course the symbols of life [2].

The Christian adaptations of the ideas expressed in these symbols are also worth attention. The story of the cross tree is an illustration in point. The tree of the garden of Eden, blighted when Adam sinned, lives again when Christ is born. « Hauptsächlich aber ist es der Christ-oder Weinachtsbaum, mit Aepfeln behangen und Lichten besteckt, der am Geburtsfeste des Heilands als Lebensbaum ausdrüchlich dem Aepfelbaume des Erkenntnisses wie Erlösung dem Sündenfalle entgegengesetzt wird ; womit der Glaube zusammenhängt, dass in der Christnacht die Bäume blühen » [3].

The tree with the children in it — sometimes seen in conjunction with the lighted tree, and sometimes instead of it — furnishes, if I am not mistaken, the most important clue yet examined to the whole adventure. Who are these children ? Why do they come from the Earthy Paradise to guide the grail quester to a happy issue out of all his troubles ? The tree is certainly the tree of life : in the Didot and Modena versions the children say that they have come from the Earthly Paradise ; in the Wauchier continuation the child holds an apple in its hand — clearly a symbol of the tree of life.

The Modena-Didot versions, in which two children

1. *Ibid*, p. 244. Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, for many similar customs.

2. Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, under *Licht, Braut, Brautmaie*. A. B. Cook, *The European Sky-God, Folk-Lore*, XV, p. 293, gives examples of folk-tales of central Europe, in which the oak reaches the sky and supports the sun, who lives in it. Cf. also, Zeus as ruler of sky and underworld, p. 304.

3. W. Menzel, *Christlich Symbolik*, Regensburg, 1855, I, p. 114.

appear offer perhaps the more interesting comparisons with story material outside grail tradition, though the one child has its own group of hardly less thought-provoking parrallels [1]. In a time like that in which these stories took shape, symbols were still a natural language and a simple or a more complex treatment of a special incident was the choice of the moment. The two seven year old children must suggest twins. Twins are in some places supposed to possess extraordinary power; they control the weather and increase fertility. There has existed in Mediterranean countries from remote antiquity a cult of twins, Castor and Pollux, who were regarded as divinities of light. They are represented as appearing, as has long since been pointed out, in the summer about the time of the first full moon after the solstice. As divinities of light they naturally controlled the elements, and so became, first, protectors of voyagers on the sea, and then by the usual process of development, of travellers of every kind. Again, by extension of the idea, they became protectors and guardians of all life [2].

The belief in twins as symbols of life exists also

1. It may be a substitute for the Phoenix or the Pelican as a life symbol. Comparison is also suggested with the child Jesus in the tree in the 13th century vision of Seth. Cf. Wilhelm Meyer, *Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christus, Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-Philologischen Classe der Königlich Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XVI (1882), p. 136.

Miss Weston, in an important and suggestive article which has reached me too late for use, *The apple Mystery in Arthurian Romance*, (The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, vol. 9, nº 2, July, 1925) has pointed out what she believes to be the source of the imagery of the child in the tree. She derives it from the debate between the dry tree and the green tree, embodied in *Le Pelerinage de l'Ame*, in which the Madonna was identified with the Green Tree and Christ with the Apple.

2. E. S. Hartland, Article on *twins* in Hastings' *Encyc. o Relig. and Ethics*, XII, 1922. Rendell Harris, *Boanerges*.

among the American Indians. Boas reports that among the Nutka, twins indicate a good salmon year. Here again they are supposed to control the weather, and to cure the diseased [1].

The children in the tree, then, seen by Perceval at the crossways are symbols of life, whether originally connected with the sun, as in the case of Castor and Pollux, or, as the Indian evidence would testify, merely the symbol of fecundity, and so of power over life.

An episode in the romance of Alexander, if it does not offer a parallel to the vision of the children in the tree, at least suggests an interesting, and, I believe, a significant comparison. Another variant of the life symbolism is here seen. The connection of the hero's quest with life and death is made explicit — presented in dramatic story. The episode referred to is Alexander's visit to the trees of the sun and moon, found in his letter to Aristotle.

Before his account of that visit, however, he notes two immediately preceding experiences that are also of importance. The first is his sight of the Phoenix, with head rayed like the sun, sitting upon a tree bare of leaves or fruit. The second is his visit to a temple on a mountain in which there is an altar by which are two candlesticks. Upon the altar instead of a fire there is a lamp made of stone which shines like a star. Reclining upon a couch there is a huge man from whom comes an effulgence like the lightning. In the midst of a terrible sound like thunder, a voice speaks, « King Alexander, rest and cease from thy toils; enter not the temple of the gods, neither reveal their mysteries ». The god on the couch is Dionysus. A second visit,

1. *Report on the North West Tribes of Canada*, 1890, pp. 22, 39, 62.

also in the land of the gods, which is later described may be compared. This time Alexander enters a cave in which he sees stars shine out of the blackness. Suddenly he hears behind him the noise of dead bodies and a great uproar. Trembling he beholds a man lying upon a couch whose eyes sparkle like stars. It is Sêsâḳôs, the ruler of the world, who takes him within to see the « Maker of all Nature », the great god Serapis [1].

In the Ethiopic version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, a more Christianized version, also translated by Budge, the lord on the couch is Enoch, and Alexander is told not to imagine that « the knowledge of everything » shall be given him ; he is warned not to « pry into the mysteries of God the Eternal » [2].

The episode of the trees follows [3]. After he had gone through snow, wind and darkness, Alexander was told that no living man had ever before entered the temples of the Gods or walked in the mountains of the nations. He was then asked if he wished to see marvels, and was taken to a place « beyond which there was nothing except the flower which cometh forth from Paradise », to use the phrasing of the Ethiopic. He was then taken into a garden in which were the speaking trees of the sun and moon, like unto which no others exist, the tops of which were near unto heaven. Alexander asked the trees if he should die, and was told that he would be slain in the land of Babylon [4].

We have here not exactly a similar experience, but

1. E. A. W. Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great*, the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, Cambridge, 1889, pp. 101, ff. 126, 127. This version is said to be not later than the tenth century. Pfister, *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo*, Heidelberg, 1913, pp. 40-41.

2. Pp. 157-158.

3. The Syriac version, pp. 104-105.

4. P. 164.

certainly one that is strongly suggestive of that which the grail quester underwent at the crossways. The Perilous Chapel is not duplicated, but there are definite reminders of it in its mystery, its fearful noises, and its reference to the presence of the dead. The speaking trees of the sun and moon recall the tree with the children in its branches who speak to Perceval. Alexander has clearly penetrated into the country of the gods and seeks to discover the secrets of existence. The sun and moon trees interrogated by Alexander represent life and death ; they are the cosmic trees of the ancient eastern paradise ; they correspond to the two trees in the Garden of Eden, the tree of life and the tree of knowledge, or, if we prefer to take it that there was one tree, the « tree of knowledge of good and evil ». (In all this imagery, the elements are found combined or separated). In the ancient oriental cosmogony, there were two worlds : the earthly and the celestial, the underworld and the upperworld — one the counterpart of the other. In Babylonian teaching, the moon bears the overworld character and signifies life and resurrection ; the sun, the underworld. The moon, which represents life, reproduces itself ; its color is green. The sun represents death. In Egypt the significance is reversed : the moon becomes the symbol of the underworld ; the sun is the overworld divinity [1].

Alexander's visit to the trees of the sun and moon is, then, a journey to paradise. The two trees are a substitute for the Deity — one symbolizes life, the other death, or light and darkness, or day and night. The Deity, as the unit of earth change, appears also as one tree, and

1. Alfred Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, Eng. Ed., 1911, p. 24, I, p. 110.

this tree stands at the limit of the earth, where the kingdoms of the dead and the living meet[1].

Illustrations found in the Alexander romances and on old maps make the imagery clearer. In an illustration from the British Museum Ms., Reg. xv. e. 6, there are three trees: one of the moon, and one of the sun, and a third tree, bare and dry, with a phoenix in its boughs. The dry tree here represents death, with the phoenix, the symbol of resurrection, crowning it — the whole indicating that life proceeds from death, or that death produces life.

Perceval, as far as I know, had no vision of the dry tree with the phoenix in its branches, but Bors, another grail quester, closely connected with Perceval, saw the equivalent of it — the dry tree with the pelican in its boughs. The pelican is as usual a symbol of immortality as the phoenix. In the vision of Bors, the episode has gained a more Christian tone. The bare tree, leafless and dry, has become the cross of the crucifixion, and the pelican is the symbol of Christ. The whole, Bors is told by the hermit who explains his vision to him, represents the grail [2].

In another illustration found in the Santarem Atlas, upon a world map (Rudimentum Nuvitiorum) printed in 1475, the sun and moon are seen in one tree.

I do not mean to say that the sun and moon in the branches of the tree have given the suggestion for the children in the tree in Perceval's vision, though some such picture may have been known as the symbol of the point where the lands of the dead and the living meet. It is not impossible to conceive that the children may have replaced the faces of the sun and moon. It

1. Hugo Winckler, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, Berlin, 1901, p. 156.

2. Malory, *Morte Darthur*, ch. vi. R. J. Peebles, *The Dry Tree*, *Vassar Mediaeval Studies*, Yale University Press, 1922, p. 71.

The Trees of the Sun and Moon and the Dry Tree

British Museum Ms., Reg. XV e 6

The Sun and Moon Tree

Santarem Atlas

is certain, however, that the two trees — the sun and moon tree, or trees, and the tree with the children in its branches — correspond, that both represent life-death, in short that they are exchangeable symbols. The grail quester, when he encounters this landmark is at the end of his quest. He has struggled with death in the Perilous Chapel, and is ready to meet the Fisher King. He enters the other world or the upperworld.

In pointing out the resemblance between Alexander's journey to Paradise and his colloquy with the speaking trees of the sun and moon, and the grail quester's experience with the children in the tree, I do not mean to intimate a necessarily actual dependence of the one story upon the other. Alexander's miraculous adventures were known of course to everybody in the Middle Ages. According to Chaucer,

> Alisaundre's storie is so comune,
> That every wight that hath discrecioun,
> Hath herd somewhat or al of his fortune.

What I do wish to call attention to, is that in these two stories varying and more or less related treatments of the same adventure can be examined. There is free handling in each case — the storyteller's imaginative shaping of his material to suit his own purposes. The adventure itself — the hero's penetrating into the upper world to learn the secrets of life and death — is symbolically treated, and these symbols must have been at one time common currency [1].

1. The ease with which this pre-Christian symbolism was taken over by the Christian writers is shown by the old author of the *Cursor Mundi*, who represents the spirit of the Middle Ages when he says (I, p. 15): « In honor of Mary I write this book, founded on the Trinity ; and I will tell about the Old and the New Law, and all the world »... The sun, at once round, hot and light, is an emblem of God in Trinity. He equates God and the sun's body ; the light of the sun and the Son ; the heat of the sun and the Holy Ghost. The burning bush as a symbol of life and fecundity is also made a symbol of the Virgin Mary (II, ll. 5732 ff.).

THE ROYAL MARK OF THE MEROVINGIANS AND KINDRED PHENOMENA

GEORGE L. HAMILTON

Jacob Grimm in the second edition of his *Deutsche Mythologie* (1844) [1], that wonderful store-house of information, one of the half dozen supreme works of pure erudition ever written was the first to note that a peculiar growth of hair on the back, was attributed to the Frankish royal family of Merovingians, by the Byzantine chronicler, Theophanes, who died in 817 [2]. The statement of the chronicler is as follows :

ἐλέγοντο δὲ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἐκείνου καταγόμενοι κριστάται, ὅ ἑρμηνεύεται τριχοραχάται τρίχας γὰρ εἶχον κατὰ τῆς ῥάχης ἐκφυομένας ὡς χοῖροι [3].

1. P. 364.

2. K. Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. byzant. Litteratur,* 2e ed., 1879, 342.

3. *Ed.* J. Classen (Bonn Corpus) 1839, I, 619, 13-15. No changes have been introduced into the text in C. de Boor's edition, I (1883), 403, 5-7. It was the source of the same statement in the *Chronicle* of G. Cedrenus, written at the end of the eleventh, or at the beginning of the twelfth century (Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, 368), *ed.* I. Bekker (Bonn Corpus), 1838, I, 794, 9-11.

(And those born from that family were called κριστάται, which is interpreted hairy-backed, for they had bristles growing along the ridge of their back like boars).

The interpretation of the Latin-Greek word κριστάται has presented difficulties for modern scholars, which have inspired various ingenious suggestions. The most distinguished of Italian Romance scholars, Pio Rajna, in his epoch-making book, *I origini dell' epopea francese* (1884) [1] put the question as to whether it came from Latin *crista*, or from German *kriuz*, in the later case having the meaning of « crusaders », which was given a Romance phonetic explanation by the Greeks, so as to make it a term of contempt. Gaston Paris, in his review of Rajna's book [2], suggested that the Greek word was a deliberately coined pun, κριστάται being put for κρινῖται as the reputation of the Merovingian kings as « reges criniti », tickled the Byzantine fancy, just as much as — to give a modern instance — it did that of Carlyle, with his more than one allusion to the « Merovingian Kings with their long hair flowing » [3]. Ferdinand Lot believed that the Greek word came from Latin *crista*, French *crête*, designating the long hair of the Merovingians, because : « On sait que les Francs avaient l'habitude de ramener leurs cheveux en une touffe sur le sommet de la tête, ce qui faisait en effet une sorte de crête » [4]. The explanations given by the French scholars had already been given in substance by J. Classen, the editor of the Bonn edition of Theophanes, in his comment on the passage, published

1. P. 297-8.
2. *Rom.*, XIII (1884), 612.
3. Cf. *e. g.*, *French Revolution*, Book I, ch. II.
4. « La croix des royaux de France », *Rom.*, XX (1891), 280-1. The passage of Theophanes is not as much as mentioned in the long discussion of the « signe royal », by M. Bloch, in his *Les rois thaumaturges* (Publ. de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, fasc. 19), 1924, 245-256.

forty years before Paris's review [1]. But we do not need to depend on conjectures for the correct explanation of the word.

In the abridgement of the lost work on physiognomy of Polemon (c. 88-145 A. D.) [2], made by Adamantius in the fourth century [3], there is a section devoted to a summary of the significance of different types of necks [4], and here we find the phrase : τραχὺς αὐχὴν ὥσπερ λοφιὰ ἀμαθοῦς σὺν ὕβρει [5], the meaning of which comes out more clearly in the late Byzantine compilation, known as the *Pseudo-Polemon* [6] : τραχὺς αὐχὴν ὥσπερ λοφιὰ ἀμαθῆ σὺν ὕβρει τὸν ἔχοντα μαρτυρεῖ [7]. In the anonymous Latin work *De physiognomonia* of the fourth century, based principally on the lost work of Polemon [8], one finds the passage : « aspera cervix tanquam cristata non solum

1. *Ed. cit.*, II (1841), 525.

2. R. Foerster, *Scriptores physiognomonici*, 1893, I, lxxv-lxxx ; Christ-Schmid-Stälin, *Gesch. d. griechisch. Litteratur*, 5th ed., 1913, II, 533.

3. Foerster, *op. cit.*, I, c-ciii ; M. Wellman, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie d. class. Altertumswissenschaft*, I (1894), 343.

4. For the use of other physiognomical technical terms referring to the neck in literary « portraits », and elsewhere, cf. Foerster *op. cit.*, II, 247, 18 ; 276, 7 ; 279, 15 and 22 ; 299, 27 ; 304, 5 ; 306, 13 ; 309, 28-9 ; 315, 14 ; 328, 39 ; 330, 3 ; R. Asmus, « Vergessene Physiognomonika », *Philologus*, LXV (1906), 409, 412, 424.

5. Foerster, *op. cit.*, I, 368, 5-6.

6. *Ib.*, I, cxxv-cxxvi.

7. *Ib.*, I, 368, 13-14. The corresponding passage is missing in the two manuscripts of the *Epitome* of Adamantius, an early Byzantine compilation, the source of the second work cited. Cf. Foerster, *op. cit.*, cxxv, 368 ; « Zur Epitome des Adamantios », *Rhein. Museum*, LV (1900), 138-141, 145. This particular type of neck is not mentioned in the late Byzantine treatise, wrongly ascribed to Johannes Mauropus, Foerster, *op. cit.*, II, 228, 19-229, 4. For date, cf. *Ib.*, I, clxxxii-v ; Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, 620, 741.

8. Foerster, *op. cit.*, I, cxxxvii-cxlv ; M. Schanz, *Gesch. d. roemische. Litt.*, 3d ed., Theil III (1922), 132.

indocilem, sed etiam insolentem declarat » [1], of which the Greek original was clearly the source of the Greek phrases quoted above. Again, in the Arabic translation of the work of Polemon, made between the ninth and fourteenth century [2], we find the same statement in a passage as emended by the editor, and translated : « Sed collum robustum cuius fastigium *cristae galli simile est ne laudato, nam a scientia et intellegentia longe distat » [3]. Greek λοφιὰ, Ionic λοφιὴ, was the mane on such domestic animals as horses and mules, and the bristly ridge on certain wild animals [4]. In the *Odyssey* [5] a boar makes ready to attack Ulysses :

θρίξας εὖ λοφιήν,

and in the Hesiodic *Shield of Hercules* [6] a boar is described, who :

ὀρθὰς δ' ἐν λοφιῇ φρίσσει τριχας ἀμφί τε δειρήν.

(rears up his straight bristles on his back-ridge and round his neck). In the *Historia Animalium* [7] of Aristotle we are told that a hyaena : « λοφιὰν ἔχει δι' ὅλης τῆς ῥάχεως (has a crested mane running all along the ridge of his back). If the Greek writer on physiognomy only uses the word as a term of comparison in his description of a human neck, Aristophanes applied it

1. Foerster, *op. cit.*, II, 75, 2-3.
2. *Ib.*, I, lxxxii-iv.
3. *Ib.*, I, 220, 16-18. The type of neck is not mentioned in later Arabic works on the subject, *Ib.*, II, 154-5 ; 170, 211, and therefore is not found in the numerous Occidental works, based on one or the other of them.
4. Aristotle, *Partes Animalium*, 2, 14, 4 ; *Hist. An.*, 2, 1, 19.
5. XIX, 446.
6. V, 391.
7. 6, 32, 1.

literally to Aeschylus in his lyric outburst of praise for the older poet in the *Frogs* [1] :

φρίξας δ' αὐτοκόμου λοφιᾶς κασιαύχενα χαίταν.

(having upreared the shaggy-maned bristles of his nature-clothed crested ridge).

The author of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonia*, who had already noted that the lion and boar, who are very brave, have stiff bristles : ἀνδρειότατον δὲ λέων ὃς ἄγριος καὶ τρίχα σκληροτάτην φέρει [2] without using the word λοφιὰ even as a term of comparison, likens men with very thick hair on their backs to wild animals, while those with hair on the back of their necks, are likened to lions : οἱ τὸν νῶτον δασὺν ἔχοντες ἄγαν ἀναιδεῖς· ἀναφέρεται ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία· οἱ δὲ τὸν αὐχένα ὄπισθεν δασὺν ἔχοντες ἐλευθέριοι · ἀναφέριοι ἐπὶ τοὺς λέοντας [3].

When there is evidence in Greek literature, both of the classical and later periods, of what might be called a technical interest in a growth of hair on the back of men, the report which came to the Byzantine chronicler of such a growth on the bodies of members of the Merovingian royal family, would not have impressed him as being peculiar to them, or as being unknown to himself, he coined, maybe a Greek word τριχωραχάται to translate the Latin word *cris-*

1. V. 322. The Scholiasts comment on the line : ὡσει εἶπεν ὀργισθεὶς ὥσπερσῦς.

2. Foerster, *op. cit.*, I, 18, 13-14 : cf. the medieval Latin translation of Bartholomew of Messina, *op. cit.*, I, 19, 13-4 : fortissimum autem leo asper, et pilum durissimum naturaliter habent ». In the Arabic translation of Polemon. *Ib.*, I, 196, 9-10, the lion is described « collo crasso cervice robusta crinibus crispis ».

3. Foerster, *op. cit.*, I, 78, 15-17 ; cf. Bartholomew's translation, *Ib.*, 79, 15-18 : « Quiscunque dorsum vel spinam pilosum habent valde, inverecundi sunt, referunt ad bestias, quicunque autem collum retro pilosum habent, liberales sunt, referuntur ad leones ».

tati, used in this special meaning, and then gave the etymology of his Greek word, without intending to give it any such slanderous interpretation, as has been read into it. The Latin translator of the Polemon evidently did not need to coin the Latin word *cristati*, but found it already in use as a technical word, which would translate exactly as an adjective, the Greek substantive λοφιὰ. That such a word did exist, and continued to exist [1], is shown by the use made of it as a borrowed word by the Byzantine chronicler five centuries later. The Greek word in the form λούφος, or more frequently λόφος, or transliterated as *lophus*, *lofus*, glossed as *crista*, appears often in Graeco-Latin glossaries from the eighth century on [2], but *cristatus* is not found in them with this special technical sense [3].

Neither the tradition in regard to the Merovingian kings, nor the word, denoting their peculiar hereditary mark survived in France, descriptive of a human characteristic, but in old French a derivative of *cristatum* is found in descriptions of the bristles on the back of a lion :

D'un lion moult fier et cresté [4],

or, with a change in the participal ending :

Robastre queurt après comme lion crestu [5].

A reflexive verb *se crester* « to bristle up », had also

1. The *Thesaurus* notes only the instance in the Latin *Physognomonia*.

2. *Corpus Glossarum Latinorum*, ed. G. Goetz, II (1888), xxxvii, 173, 30 ; 208, 47 ; 240, 61 ; 362, 55 ; 492, 62 ; 517, 55 ; 540, 23 ; 552, 42.

3. *Ib.*, VI (1899), 288, *s. v.*

4. *Perceval*, *ed.* Potvin, 10068.

5. *Gaufrey*, *ed.* F. Guessard et F. Chabaille, 5246.

been developped in Old-French, found in the description of a lion in a rage :

Si se herice et creste ansamble [1],

and of a boar in the same mood :

Et li sanglers fait sa hure lever,
Par grant orgueil se comenche a crester [2].

In Spain we find the tradition of a single bristling hair attached to one of its greatest families of royal ancestry. The de la Cerdas, Dukes of Medinaceli, the rightful heirs to the Spanish throne, owe their name to Fernando, the oldest son of Alfonso el Sabio, whose childrens' claims were brushed aside by their uncle Sancho el Bravo (1264). Mariana, the great Spanish historian in the original Latin version of his *Historia de España*, published in 1592 [3], in enumerating the children of Alfonso, names first : « Ferdinandus cognomento Cerda, a crine in dorso insigni cum quo est natus » [4], a phrase, in the Spanish version published in 1601 [5], he enlarged into : « D. Fernando por sobrenombre de la Cerda, por causa de una muy señalada y larga con que naciò en las espaldas [6] ». This explanation, in itself, would only give the impression that the family name owed its existence, as those classical semi-mythical personnages, Nisus and Pterelaus, owed their lives [7], to a single hair. Fortunately a fuller

1. Chrétien de Troyes, *Chevalier au Lyon*, ed. W. Foerster, v. 5527, cf. 4211.

2. A. Tobler, *Aus der Chanson de Geste von Auberi*, 1870, 166, 17-18 ; cf. 259-60.

3. G. Cirot, *Mariana historien*, 1905, 137.

4. Lib. XIII, cap. 9 ; A. Schott, *Hispania Illustrata*, II (1603), 597.

5. Cirot, *op. cit.*, 147-151, where the author discusses the relations between the two versions.

6. *Ed.*, 1781, V, 56.

7. J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3d ed., XI (1914), 103-4.

explanation was given by Covarrubias in his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, published in 1611. Under *cerda* he notes : « El apellido de la Cerda es illustrissimo, y le tomaron los descendientes de un Infante, que naciò con un lunar en la espalda, dedonde lo colgaua un cabello largo, y gruesso, como gruesso como cerda. Este se llamò don Fernando de la Cerda, hijo legitimo del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio y de la Reyna Doña Violante [1] ». In this Spanish instance there was a single bristle-like hair growing out of a mole, instead of a tuft, or tufts of similar hair growing on the ridge of the back, as in the case of the Merovingians, as reported by the Byzantine chronicler. It might be suggested that in the original Frankish tradition, there was a mole, which was lost sight of during the transmission of the tradition, or deliberately discarded under the influence of physiognomical ideas, so well systematised and known in the Greek Orient. But the existence of the Latin word *cristati*, shows that such could not have been the case [2].

The Spanish word *cerda* « bristle », has been derived [3] « from Latin, *cirra* a well attested femimine form of *cirrus*, « lock of hair », under the influence of Lat. *saetta*, Sp. *seda*, « bristle ». But is it necessary to take into account such an influence, when its etymon might just as well be the derivative of *cirrus*, *cirritam*, as in Provençal we find *serrut*, from the same derivative with a change of the suffix *-it* to *-ut* ? The single example noted [4] is in that most dreary of poems, *Gui-*

1. P. 275.

2. R. L. Adams, *Word Formation in Provençal* (University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic Series, II), 1913, 331-2.

3. D. S. Blondheim, « Etymological Notes », *Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliot* [1911], 248-250. The etymology is accepted by Meyer-Lübke, *Roman-etymol. Wörterbuch*, No. 3096, *s. v.* sordidus.

4. *Ed.* P. Meyer (Soc. d. Anc. Textes fr.), 1895, v. 1746.

lhem de la Barra in the phrase : *Dos maustinasses totz serrutz* [1] : « Two shepherd-dogs all bristling », where it has the meaning of Old-French *cresté, crestu,* which have been already noted. With a semantic change wo find that another derivative of *cirrus*, **cirrionem*, has given Picard *cherio*, Old-Burgundian *sergeon,* dialect of Yonne *chargeon*, Walloon *sèron, seron*, meaning « a hank of prepared flax or hemp » [2]. López de Gomara in his *Conquista de Méjico*, tells of the iguana that it has « el *serro* erizado con cerdas », and Gongora in his second *decima* speaks of the boar :

jabali, en cujos *cerros*
Se levanta un escuadrón
De *cerdas* [3].

Again, Oviedo, in describing the peccary in his *Historia general y natural de las Indias,* states [4] :

Estos puercos son algo menores que los nuestros é mas peludos ó cubiertos de çerdas ásperas [5].

What is striking about these Spanish examples of the use of the word, is that the Spanish word for « ridge

1. P. Meyer, *ed. cit.*, 192, does not attempt to translate the word, but Chabaneau in his review of the edition, *Rev. d. langues rom.*, XI (1897), 579, suggested « *hérissé*, comme en dents de scie », a phrase cited by Levy, *Provenz. Supplement-Worterbuch*, VII (1955), 617, without comment.

2. A. Thomas, « Notes étymologiques et lexicographiques », *Rom.*, XXXIX (1910), 233-4 ; J. J. Haust, « Etymologies wallonnes et françaises », *Rom.*, XLVII (1921), 572-3.

3. Blondheim, *op. cit.*, 250.

4. For such an identification, Clements R. Markham, *The Narrative of Pascual de Andagoya* (Hackluyt Society Publ., Ser. I, vol. xxxiv), 1865, 17, n.

5. *Ed.* J. Amador de los Rios, I (1851), 409. Cf. his description of the iguana. *Ib.*, I, 393, « Tienen per medio del espinaço levantado un çerro encrestado a manera de sierra ó espinas ».

of the back », *serro*, clearly comes from *cirrum*, the derivative of which gave *cerda* [1].

Curiously enough, one finds the exact equivalent of the Greek word τριχωραχάται in an Americanism, a horse-dealer's term, *roach-mane*, found as early as 1781, in an advertisement of the *Royal Georgia Gazette*, in the phrase; « half roach main » [2]. It is descriptive of the result of a fashion of clipping, or trimming a horse's mane, so that the hair stands upright, like bristles. The English equivalent, *hogged mane*, vouched for as early as 1764 [3], has a connotation not so apparent in the Americanism, which is a semantic development of the word as used in another term, borrowed from the vernacular of the stables, *roach-backed*, indicating a horse whose back has a convex, instead of a concave curve. If in a *Venerie*, attributed to the authorship of George Tuberville, published in 1575, such a horse is described as having a « backe roache-bent », one finds in the *London Gazette* for 1688 : « roach-back'd », a term which has come to be applied equally to horses and hogs [4]. It is evidently

1. Meyer-Lübke, *op. cit.*, N° 1949.

2. August 31, cited by H. R. Thornton, *An American Glossary*, London, 1912, II, 713. A description of the style of trimming is found in an advertisement of the *Missouri Gazette*, Dec. 25, 1818 : « His mane had been divided, and laid on both sides of his neck, and that part that lay on the left side cut off as if to roach him », Thornton, *l. c.*

3. *N. E. D.*, *s. v. Hog* appears as a verb with this special meaning in J. O. Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary*, III (1902), 196, s. v. 14, where it is noted that both *hogged mane*, and *hog-mane* are used in auctioneers' advertisements. On the identity in meaning of the American and English terms, cf. a citation from *Blackwood's Magazine* for 1848, cited in *N. E. D.*, *roachbacked* ; J. S. Farmer, *Americanisms, Old and New*, 1886.

4. *N. E. D.*, *s. v.* The earliest American example *roach back*, appears in the *New England Chronicle*, Jan. 25, 1776 ; Thornton, *l. c.*, where it is wrongly considered as a synonyme of *roach-mane*.

the figurative use of the name of a common fresh-water fish, the *roach (Leuciscus rutilus)*, of which the Anglo-Norman and Middle-English form was *roche* [1], derived from Old-English *hreohche*, *hreohch* [2], which glosses the otherwise unknown Latin *fannus* [3], in the

1. The earliest instance is found in the twelfth century (Cf. M. Förster, « Die altkornische Bearbeitung von Abt Aelfrics lat. altengl. Glossar », *Herrigs Archiv*, CXXXVI (1916), 285) Worcester manuscript of Aelfric's Latin-English *Glossary*, in the gloss, as completed by the editors : « *Fannus*, ro(che) », T. Wright & R. P. Wülcker, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, 1884, 543, 17; *Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. J. Zupitza, I (1880), 308, 6, *var.* The emendation is vouched for by the reading of the same gloss : « Fannus, *roche* », in the *Vocabularium Cornicum*, J. C. Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, 2d ed., 1871, 1074, a translation of a late copy of Aelfric's *Glossary* made in the twelfth century, cf. Förster, *art. cit.*, 285-91 ; O. Schlutter, « *Die Vocabularium Cornicum* und seine Beziehungen zu der ae. Vocabulare des XI. Jahrhunderts aus Ms. Cott. Julius A II », *Anglia* XXXIX (1910), 370-90. The earliest instances of 1314, 1390 and 1391, cited by *N. E. D.*, are found in Anglo-Norman texts, that of *c*, 1400, in a Middle-English text. The earliest French form, cited by Godefroy, *s. v. roce*, is of the thirteenth century, and from Tournai, and may be only a variant of *roque*, *roce*, also from Tournai, of which the etymon is Low-German *roche, ruche,* meaning « ray », P. Barbier, fils, « Noms de poissons; notes étymologiques et lexicographiques », *Rev. d. Langues rom.*, LVIII (1915), 324-5 ; cf. *Ib.*, LVII, 332-3.

2. Meyer-Lübke, *op. cit.*, N° 7365, gives as the etymon of *roque, roche*, *roce*, the Old-English *rohha*, for *rohhe*, the unnecessary emendation of *reohhe*, suggested by L. Ettmüller, *Lexicon Anglosaxonicum*, 1851, 257. Barbier, *art. cit.*, *Rev. d. Langues rom.*, LVII, 331-2, suggested the Latin etymons **roccja*, **rottja* ; in the former case the fish would owe its name to its habit of hiding among rocks.

3. It is found however, not only in Aelfric's *Glossary* — with the single variant fanus — and in its Cornish translation, but it is also one of the words added by Aelfric Bata in his edition of his master, Aelfric's *Colloquium*, J. Zupitza, « Die ursprüngliche Gestalt von Alfrics *Colloquium* », *Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Altertum*, XXXI (1887), 38-9 ; E. Schröder, « Aelfricas *Colloquium* », *Ib.*,

Latin-English *Glossary* of the celebrated scholar Aelfric, abbot of Eynsham (*c.* 955-*c.* 1030) [1].

But the word *roach* has had a further semantic development in the southern part of United States, when applied to a mode of dressing the human hair. The earliest instance noted [2] in the anonymous *Sketches and Eccentricities of Colonel David Crockett*, published in 1833, where we are told of a humble banjo-player at a dance, that « his hair was roached »[3] is not very informing. But in J. G. Baldwin's *Flush Times in Alabama and Mississippi*, published in 1853, a prominent and dressy lawyer in an Alabama town is described as having :

« hair, a grizzly gray, roached up flat and stiff in front, and hanging down in a queue behind tied with an eel-skin and pomatumed » [4].

Further, an accompanying engraving, presenting this gentleman engaged in his labors in a court room, depicts his front hair, brushed up from the forehead and sides, into a ridge-like crest, held in place, no doubt by the mentioned pomatum. Again in the same work, a retired schoolmaster, a bit of a dandy, has his hair dressed in a similar way :

XLI (1897), 284-5. In a fifteenth century Latin-English glossary in MS. *Trinity College*, Cambridge, 1285 (D. 5, 4.), M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, III (1902), 3,6-7 ; 301 for date, an otherwise unknown Latin word appears in the gloss ; « Moris, *a roche* », Wright & Wülcker, *op. cit.*, 596, 41, and for the Romance derivatives of the name of another fish, which is only attested once in Latin literature, R. Zaunick, « Das Fischname *trucantus* bei Anthimius und seine provenzalische Fortsetzungen », *Herrigs Archiv*. CXLVIII (1925), 110-111.

1. *Ed. cit.* 308, 6.

2. Thornton, *loc. cit.*

3. *Ed. cit.*, 38.

4. *Op. cit.*, 2d ed., New-York, 1854, 22 ; not cited by Thornton, *l. c.*

« His hair was roached up, and stood as erect and upright as his body » [1].

To dress the hair in the same, if less formal style, by combing or brushing it back from the forehead, is still summed up in the verb *roach*, in the dialects of the southern states, where the resulting top-knot is known as a *roach* [2]. The same verb also denotes a mode of dressing the hair, by parting it on each side, and turning the intervening hair into a large curl, which runs down the top of the head, and is called a *roach*, a name which is also given to any large curl, or twist of any portion of the hair [3]. Formerly southern girls used a *roach-*, or *roaching-comb*, a semi-circular comb to « roach » the hair back over the forehead, and the verb *roach* is also used by boys to denote a swimming stunt, which consists in coming out of the water in such a way as to sweep the hair back from the forehead : « Watch me roach my hair, boys » [4]. And the fashion of dressing the hair, and its resemblance to an animal's roach, if not its name, has survived in other parts of

1. *Ib.*, 108 ; cited in part by Thornton, *l. c.* I have not been able to note whether the two sketches in which my two citations are found, appeared in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVII-XVIII (1851-2), as was the case with some of them, *op. cit.*, V ; B. B. Minor, *The Southern Literary Messenger*, 1905, 176-177.

2. L. W. Payne, jr., « A Word-List from East Alabama », *Dialect Notes. Publication of the American Dialect Society*, III (1905-12), 364 ; J. W. Carr & R. Taylor, « A List of Words from Northwest Arkansas », *Ib.*, III, 153 ; L. R. Dingus, « A Word-List from Virginia », *Ib.*, IV (1913-17), 189. But the use of both the verb and substantive in all their varied meanings noted is found throughout the south, as I have learned from personal inquiry.

3. Carr & Taylor, *Art. cit. Dialect Notes*, III, 225 ; W. O. Rice, « The Pioneer Dialect of Southern Illinois », *Ib.*, II (1900-4), 244. Mrs Deland, in one of her « Old-Chester Tales », located in Northern Pennsylvania, uses the word with this meaning.

4. Payne, *l. c.*

the country as shown by the description of a cowboy in a recently published story [1] of Western range life : « His mop of blonde hair stood up like the roach on a grizzly ». To such lowly usages has the descriptive epithet of distinction, or of contempt, given by a Byzantine chronicler to the Merovingian kings, descended.

In Spanish literature we find other mentions of hair growing from a mole as a distinctive individual token. It appears among other traits of genuine Spanish traditions [2] in the fantastic history of the Moorish conquest, the impudent forgery written by Miguel de Luna in 1589, under the pretentious title, *Verdadera Historia del Rey Rodrigo, con la Perdida de España, y Vida del Rey Jacob Almanaçor, traduçida de Lengua Arábiga* [3]. In the first part, published in 1592, there is an episode in which the Arab chief Tarif — the name the source of a word and system, from which the American people have suffered more and longer than the Spanish Visigoths ever did from its name-sake — being with Count Julian, a Spanish woman captured by the Moors told how as a child she had heard her father read a prophecy concerning the conquest of Spain, which stated that the Moors would be led by a captain who would « tener un lunar peloso tan grande como un grabanzo sobre el hombro de la mano derecha » [4]. Hearing this Tarif stripped himself, and

1. W. F. Tuttle, « The Swamper », *Adventure*, LVII, N° 3 (Febr. 28, 1926), 11.

2. Cf. J. Menéndez Pidal, « Leyendas del ultimo rey goto », *Rev. de Archivos*, Terc. Ep., V (1901), 884, n. 5; XIV (1906), 369 and n. 30.

3. G. Ticknor, *Hist. of Spanish Literature*, 4th ed., 1879, I, 226, n. 56; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Origenes de la novella*, I (1905), ccclxii-iii.

4. Cited by D. Clemencin, in his edition of *Don Quixote*,

revealed this mole. In the broad parody of this episode, in *Don Quixote* in which Dorotea poses as the princess Micomiconia, she tells how her father had prophesized to her that she would find a remedy for her distress in a knight-errant, whom she would recognise by his name and appearance, and that :

en el lado derecho debajo del hombro izquierdo ò por allí junto, había de tener un lunar pardo con ciertos cabellos à manera de cerdas.

The mad gentleman at once called on Sancho to help him undress to see if he were, indeed, this knight, but he was assured by his faithful squire that this was quite unnecessary, because :

yo sé que tiene vuestra merced un lunar desas señas en la mitad del espinazo, que es señal de ser hombre fuerte [1].

In a few sentences Cervantes showed clearly what was his opinion both of the popular tradition in regard to marks on the body as prophetic tokens, and of the pseudo-science of physiognomy [2].

Finally, we find the same tradition in regard to an ancestral mark connected with a distinguished family the Percies who, if they were not of royal descent like the de la Cerdas were superior to it for their reputation for heroic qualities. After the death in 1670 of Jocelyn Percy, eleventh Duke of Northumberland, the last of

II (1833), 458-9, where he analyses, and cites passages, from Lib. I, cap. 7 of the work mentioned, noting that John Bowle, the English editor of *Don Quixote* (1781) had already pointed out that this work was the source of inspiration for Cervantes parody.

1. Prim. Parte, Cap. XXX, *ed.* Clemencin, II, 456-9.

2. Cervantes has elsewhere, Segunda Parte, Cap. X, *ed. cit.*, IV, 182, ridiculed the theories of the modern writers on physiognomy, for which there is no source in the older writers, on the correspondence between the moles on the face and those on the body.

the family by direct descent, a certain James Percy [1], a trunk-maker, appeared as a claimant to the dukedom. After his case had been dismissed in 1672 by the House of Lords as baseless, he set to work to collect evidence to substantiate his claims the results of which he published in a folio volume in 1680, under the title, *Claim, Pedigree and Proceedings of James Percy, now claimant to the Earldom of Northumberland, presented to both Houses of Parliament* [2]. In this work he states :

When you first came to me, I showed you a mold, like a half moon upon my body (born into the world with it), as hath been the like on some of the Percy's formerly. Now search William Percy, and see if God hath marked him so : surely God did foresee the troubles, although the law takes no notice : but God makes a true decision, even as he was pleased to make Esau hairy and Jacob smooth.

Notwithstanding this « divine signature », as James Percy called it, the House of Lords, did not recognise his claims, but branded him in public as an arrant, impudent impostor, in their final adjudication of the case in 1629.

1. *Dict. of National Biography.*, XLIV, 424-5.
2. Cited in J. Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, *ed.* Henry Ellis, III (1849), 253.

GLEANINGS FROM THE BIBLE OF ALVA

D. S. BLONDHEIM

The generosity of the Duke of Alva has recently provided for the publication in two sumptuous volumes of the famous *Biblia de la Casa de Alba*, under the editorship of D. Antonio Paz y Melia [1].

As a result of some study of the new edition[2] the following notes may be of interest. They do not rest upon an exhaustive examination of the text, such as I hope at some time to make, but are intended merely as a supplement to the *Essai d'un vocabulaire comparatif des parlers romans des Juifs au Moyen Age*, published not long since in the *Romania*[3].

1. *Biblia (Antiguo Testamento) traducida del hebreo al castellano por Rabi Mose Arragel de Guadalfajara* (1422-1433)? *y publicada por El Duque de Berwick y de Alba* ([Madrid], 1920-22). Cf. A. Morel-Fatio, *Journal des Savants*, n. s., XXII (1924), 5-16, and *Romania*, XL (1923), 7, n. 5.

2. For the opportunity of consulting the work I am indebted to the liberality of M. Salomon Reinach, as well as to the courtesy of Professors M. Liber and A. Back.

3. XL (1923), 1-47, 343-388, 526-569 also as pp. 1-135 of *Les Parlees judéo-romans et la* vetus latina (Paris, Champion, 1925).

At the time the *Essai* was written, the only Spanish Bible of Jewish origin accessible to me *in extenso* was the version of Ferrara, 1553. The following *Gleanings* were undertaken chiefly with the idea of determining to what extent it was possible to secure from the Bible of Alva earlier or additional examples of words studied in the *Essai*. The result lends further support to the assumption that the Bible of Ferrara preserves faithfully enough a tradition dating from an earlier time, and that the specimens of the Bible of Alva hitherto accessible represent accurately the linguistic character of the translation.

In some cases, moreover, we find words, hitherto apparently not cited from Spanish texts, which correspond to forms in use among Jews in other countries (§§ 70, 113), or a word previously found in a comparatively late text which turns out to have been in common use among Spanish Jews a century and a half before (§ 77). Of special interest is *ybad*, *ibad* (§ 64), which confirms an etymology hitherto open to doubt. *Santiguar* (§ 130), again, is worthy of remark not only as the first evidence of the use of the semi-learned form of the word among Spanish Jews, but also as preserving the original meaning of *sanctificare*. Examples of new semi-learned forms are found in §§ 10, 23, 132, 162. Various other additions to Spanish dictionaries will be seen elsewhere in the article.

In order to read it intelligently, it should be noted that the paragraph numbers are those of the *Essai* and that it is essential to consult the latter. Definitions, for example, have been omitted when the *Essai* or any text or translation of the Bible rendered them needless. The signs *and ˣ have been used as in the *Essai* (*q. v.*, p. 12*, except that * has been substituted for a superscript *o*), but have frequently been omitted in the case of words already so marked there. The sectional divisions of the Bible of Alva differ sometimes from the chapters of

standard Bible editions, owing to the influence of the sections of Hebrew Bible manuscripts. In such cases indications of the divisions of Arragel have been added in brackets after reference to volume and column. As the verses are not numbered in the ed. of Paz y Melia, the latter references will be of use.

§ 1. *ABBASTARE. The idea expressed in other texts by *abastado*, « sufficient, all-powerful », as an epithet of God, is rendered by *abondoso* (*poderoso*), Genesis, XXXV, 11 (I, 74a, § XL).

§ 2. *ABHORRITIO is replaced by **aburriencia*, Deuteronomy, XIII, 15 (I, 441b) or *aboreçencia* (*sic*), Genesis, XLIII, 32 (I, 84b, § XLVII). *Aborreçer* is used Genesis, XXVI, 27 (I, 64b, § XXXI), XXIX, 33 (I, 68b, § XXXIV), etc.

§ 3. ABYSSUS. *Abismo*, Genesis, I, 2 (I, 39a), VIII, 2 (I, 46a).

§ 8. *ADVIVIFICARE. **Abeuiguadora*, Genesis, *Glosa* 80 (I, 108a), « she who gives life », is wrongly replaced by *abenignadora* in the glossary, II, 985a.

§ 10. AFFLIGERE. Besides the normal forms *afligir*, Exodus, XXII, 21, 22 (I, 193a § XXXVI), Judges, XIX, 24 (I, 621b), and *aflicçion*, Exodus, III, 17 (I, 170a, § VI), one finds *afrigir*, Genesis, XVI, 6, 9 (I, 53a), *afrigion* Genesis, XXXI, 42 (I, 71a, § XXXVI), and *afregimiento*, Genesis, XVI, 11 (I, 53b). The only form in *afr-* found in the dictionaries is *afrito*, described as obsolete.

§ 12. ALTISSIMUS, as in M, is replaced by *alto*, Genesis, XIV, 18 (I, 51b), III (I) Kings, IX, 8 (I, 757a).

§ 13. AMARICARE. *Amargarse con lloro*, Isaiah, XXII, 4 (II, 18a-b).

§ 15. ANCILLA. *Ancilla*, explained in the glossary of Arragel (I, 22) as meaning *sierua o seruidora*, occurs in Genesis, *Glosas* 182 (I, 119b) and 580 (I, 159 b).

§ 16. ANGELUS. *Angel* is regular, as Genesis, XIX, 1

(I, 55b), Exodus, XXIII, 20 (I, 193b, § XXXVII), 23 (I, 194a § XXXVII), etc.

§ 17. ANTICIPARE. *Antiçipar*, explained by Arragel (I, 21) as *poner vna cosa o raẓon en primera que otra*, is used by him I, 1, and in Genesis, *Glosa* 1 (I, 97b) which contains the remark : *..aqui antiçipo la tierra ante que los çielos.*

§ 19. ARA. *Ara*, Exodus, XXVII, 1 (I, 197a, § XLI), Exodus, *Glosa* 279 (I, 249a), etc., occurs by the side of *altar*, Exodus, XXX, 1 (I, 201a, § XLVII), XXXIV, 13 (I, 207a, § LVI).

§ 20 ARCA. *Archa*, Genesis, VII, 1 (I, 45a), Exodus, II, 3 (I, 168a, § III), XXV, 10 (I, 195a, § XXXIX).

§ 21. AUGUR. *Agorero*, Deuteronomy, XVIII, 10 (I, 146a), Isaiah, II, 6 (II, 4a), Jeremiah, XXVII, 9 (II, 163a). In the last passage the word is spelt *agurero*.

§ 23. BASILISCUS. **Vajarisco*, which Señor Paz y Melia defines (II, 988b) as meaning « basilisk » in the passage (Exodus, *Glosa* 152; I, 234b): *..yermo de Sur... desyerto... lleno de serpientes e lagartos e alacranes e vajariscos*, recalls the Provençal-Catalan form *varalesc*, and has apparently the same origin.

§ 26. BENEDICERE. *Bendeẓir*, Genesis, XXVI, 4 (I, 64a, § XXXI, written *-esi-*), *Glosa* 370 (I, 138b) has the participles *benedito* (*sic*), Genesis, XXIV, 27 (I, 61a, § XXVII), *bendito* (*ibidem*, v. 31), and *bendicho*, Genesis, XXVI, 29 (I, 65a, § XXXI).

§ 27. BICHARA. *Albriçiar*, Isaiah, LXI, 1 (II, 50a).

§ 29. BOUTEIKHA. *Badeha*, Numbers, XI, 5 (I, 341a).

§ 55. CASA. *Disanto* (« feast ») *de las cauañas*, Leviticus, XXIII, 34 (I, 290a); *cabaña*, « tabernacle », Leviticus, XXIII, 42 (I, 290b), Genesis, *Glosa* 361 (I, 137b), Genesis, XXXIII, 17 (I, 73b, § XXXVII).

§ 38. CIRCUMCIDERE. **Çircuçir*, Genesis, XVII, 12 (I, 53b, § XVIII), XXI, 4 (I, 57a, § XXII) ; **çircuçidar*,

Genesis, XVII, 10, 11, 14 (I, 53b, § XVIII), Deuteronomy, X, 16 (I, 438b); **çicuçidar* (*sic*), Exodus, XII, 44 (I, 181b, § XXII); these denasalised forms occur alongside of the normal *çircunçidar*, Genesis, *Glosa* 79 (I, 107b). The verbal noun presents the forms **çircunsiçion, ibid.*, Genesis, *Glosa* 311 (I, 133a), **çircuçision* Genesis, *Glosa* 528 (I, 155a) **çircusiçion*, Genesis, *Glosa* 361 (I, 137b), *Glosa* 528 (I, 155a).

§ 39. COLIANDRUM. *Culantro*, Numbers, XI, 7 (I, 341b).

§ 42. DECIMARE. *Dezmar*, Deuteronomy, XIV, 22 (I, 442b) probably represents the ms. more faithfully than *desmar*, Genesis, XXVIII, 22 (I, 67a, § XXXIV) or the noun *diesmo*, Exodus, XXII, 28 (I, 193b, § XXXVI).

§ 43 DEMUTARE. *Demudar*, I, 3, chap. 3.

§ 45. DHOLM. **Adolmar*, « wrong, afflict » Genesis XXXI, 50 (I, 71b, § XXXVI).

§ 47. DILUVIUM. By the side of the normal orthography *diluuio*, as is Genesis, VII, 6, 7, 10, (I, 45a), 17 (I, 45b), we find *deluuio*, *ibid.*, v. 6, and *dilubio*, Genesis, VI, 17 (I, 44b), and *Glosa* 257 (I, 128a), as well as *diluio*, noted in the *Essai*.

§ 49. *DISFILIARE. *Desfiiamiento*, Isaiah, XLVII, 8 (II, 39b); *desfiiadera*, Ezekiel, XXXVI, 13 (II, 276b).

§ 50. DISSIPARE. *Dissipar*, « destroy », I, 34, ch. VII, f. 24b.

§ 51. *DOLATICIUM. **Doladiçio* (*sic*), Exodus, XX, 4, (I, 190a, § XXXII).

§ 57. GALBANUM. *Galuano*, Exodus, XXX, 34 (I, 203a, § LI).

§. 58. GENERATIO. *Generaçion*, Deuteronomy, XXIII, 3 (I, 451a), XXXII, 5 (I, 460a).

§ 59. GERMINARE. *Hermollo* (*yerba*), Leviticus, XXVI, 4 (I, 293a, § XXVI); *hermollo* (*rama*), Jeremiah, XXXIII, 15 (II, 170b).

§ 64. HEPAR. The view that the forms discussed in the

Essai are derived from the Greek is supported by the forms *la ybad*, Leviticus, III, 15 (I, 265b), IV, 9 (*ibid.*), *la ibad*, VII, 4 (I, 269 a, § [VI]). The meaning « diaphragm » indicated in the *Essai* is confirmed by the fact that **diaflama* replaces *ybad* in Leviticus, VIII, 25 (I, 271b), being followed by the alternative translation *tela*. In Exodus, XXIX, 22 (I, 200b, § XLV) *el pulgar* (*la tela*) is the reading.

§ 65. HOLOCAUSTUM. *Olocastia*, Exodus, XXIX, 18 (I. 200b, § XLV); *olocasta*, Genesis, XXII, 2 (I, 58 b, § XXIV); **holocasta*, Genesis, VIII, 20 (I, 46b); **holocausta*, Exodus, XX, 21 (I, 191a, § XXXIV).

§ 66. HYSSOPUS. *cf.* § 102, *infra*.

§ 68. IMAGO. *Ymagen*, Genesis, XXXI, 19 (I, 70b, § XXXVI); *maginar*, Genesis, XII, 12 (I, 49b : *Pero magino que sy los egipçianos te veen*...), XLIII, 14 (I, 84a, § XLVII : *ca yo asi como quede syn mi fijo Joseph, magino quedar sin los otros*); **maginaçion*, *Glosa* 374 (I, 139b); **maquinar*, Genesis, XLVIII, 18 (I, 90b, LII : *non es asi como maquinas*).

§ 70. *IMPOLLUTUS. **Empolludarse*, « become defiled, unclean », Numbers, V, 27, 28, 29 (I, 336b).

§ 71. IN-? *Encanpar*, « stumble », Nahum, III, 3 (II, 400a).

§ 72. *INADDERE. *Enadir*, Genesis, XXX, 24 (I, 69a, § XXXV); *enadimiento* (*sic*), I, 26, chap. V.

§ 77. INTERPRETARI. **Entrepetaçion*, Genesis, XXXII, 31 (I, 72b, § XXXVII : *que la entrepetaçion de este nombre es*..), XLI, 51 (I, 82b, § XLVII); **interpetaçion*, I, 17, chap. II, 18, ch. II, 20, ch. V.

§ 79. JUBILARE. *Jubilar*, Psalm LXVI, 1 (II, 595b); *jubillaçion*, Leviticus, XXV, 9 (1, 291b). *Aullar* represents fairly often the Hebrew verbs rendered in other texts by derivates of *jubilare*; so in the heading of Leviticus, XXIII, 23 (I, 289) : *De la fiesta del avllar* (*sic*), in Isaiah, XV, 4 (II, 14b), Jeremiah, L, 15 (II,

187a), Psalm LX, 10 (II, 594a), etc. *Abliar* renders *teyabbeb*, « cried, mourned », Judges, V, 28 (I, 606b); is it connected in some way with the group of words under discussion ?

§ 82. JUSTIFICARE. *Justificar*, Genesis, XLIV, 16 (I, 85b, § XLVII).

§ 84. LAICUS. *Non pan laicos, conviene saber, pan comun*, I Samuel (Kings), XXI, 5(I 663a), resembles the *laicos panes* of the Vulgate so closely that it is difficult to attach much importance to it. It is in any case curious to find *laicos* used (correctly ?) as a singular form of the adjective ; cf. *Carlos*, *Marcos*, etc.

§ 88. MAIOR. *Mayor*, Genesis, XLII, 6 (I, 82b, § XLVII), Exodus, IV, 16 (I, 170b, § VI).

§ 90. MANDRAGORAS. The form *mandragulas*, Genesis, XXX, 14, 15 (I, 68a, § XXXV) occurs by the side of *mandragolas*, Genesis, *Glosa* 431 (I, 145a).

§ 94. MORTALITAS. *Mortandat*, Exodus, IX, 3 (I, 176a, § XIV), Numbers, XIV 12 (I, 344a).

§ 97. *MUNDIFICARE. **Mondificar*, Leviticus, XIII 6, 7 (I, 275b) occurs as well as the form *mundificar*, cited from the Bible of Alva in the *Essai*.

§ 100. MYRRHA. *Mirra*, Song of Songs, IV, 6, 14 (II, 488b, 489b, § III).

§ 102. ORIGANUM. *Oregano* (*otros rromançan ysopo*), Exodus, XII, 22 (I, 181a, § XXI).

§ 106. PECTORALIS. **Pechular*, Exodus, XXVIII, 4 (I, 198a, § XLII) and *pechugar*, Exodus, XXVIII, 15 (I, 198a, § XLIII) are found in the sense of « breastplate », as well as *pecho*, Exodus, XXV, 7 (I, 195a, § XXXIX).

§ 108. PEREGRINUS. Arragel uses not only **pelegrino*, Genesis, XV, 13 (I, 52b), but also **peligrino*, Exodus, II, 22 (I, 169b, § IV) and *peregrino*, Genesis, XXIII, 4 (I, 59b, § XXVI).

§ 109. *PIETARE. *Piadar*, Exodus, II, 25 (I, 169b, § V), XII, 13 (I, 180b, § XXI).

§ 111. POLLUERE. *Polludo, poluto. Quier dezir enconamiento e contra de toda cosa santa. Polluçion : enconamiento.* (Glossary, I, 25, *s. v.*) *Polluçion*, Genesis, *Glosa* 577 (I, 159b). As *enconar*, the word used in explaining *polludo*, etc., is the form common in later texts, such as the Ferrara Bible, it is not certain that derivates of *polluere* were in use in the tradition of the Spanish Jews.

§ 112. *POTESTARE. *Podestar*, Genesis, I, 28 (I, 40a); **podestador*, Genesis, XLV, 8 (I, 86a, § XLVIII).

§ 113. PRAECEPTUM. **Preçito*, I, 6, f° 5, b.

§ 114. PRIMOGENITUS. *Primogenito : Es el fijo mayor que el omne engendra.* (I, 25, *s. v.* Generally, however, this word is writen *primo genito*, as Genesis, *Glosa* 577 (I, 159b), Exodus, IV, 22 (I, 171a, § VII), XI, 5 (I, 179 b, § XX).

§ 117. *PROFUNDINA. *Profundina*, Isaiah, XIV, 15 (II, 13b); notice ˣ *profundar*, « to sink into the depths », Hosea, V, 2, (II, 333a).

§ 118. PROPHETA. *Profeta, profetizar*, Genesis, *Glosa* 470 (I, 149a); *profeçia*, *Glosa* 474 (I, 149b); **profetal mente*, adv., « as a prophet, since he was prophesying », *Glosa* 611 (I, 163b).

§ 122. RABBITES. *Los rabies ebrayquistas*, I, 18, chap. III; *los mas rrabies de los niños*, Genesis, *Glosa* 586 (I, 160b).

§ 123. *RAPIDO. By the side of the form *rapdon*, noticed in the *Essai*, we find **rabdon*, Isaiah, XXVIII, 2 (II, 23a).

§ 125. REDIMERE. We find not only *rredemir*, Exodus, XIII, 13 *bis* (I, 182b, § XXIII), and *rredimir*, but also *remidieres* (*sic*), *ibid.*, **rrendir*, *ibid.*, also v. 15, **rrendyr*, Leviticus, XXVII, 31 (I, 296b), **rendir*, *ibid.*, v. 27, and the noun *rrendiçion*, *ibid.*, vv. 30, 33.

§ 126. SACERDUS, SACERDOS. **Çaçerdote*, Exodus, II, 16 (I, 169a, § IV), Leviticus, XIII, 5, 6 (I, 275b), occurs

by the side of *saçerdote*, for which see the *Essai*, and add Leviticus, XIII, 2 (I, 275a).

§ 127. SACRIFICIUM. *Sacrefiçio*, Genesis, XXXI, 54 (I, 71b, § XXXVI); *sacreficar*, XXXV, 14 (I, 75a, § XL), Exodus, VIII, 24 (I, 176b, § XIII); cf. below, § 146.

§ 128. SAECULUM. In the expressions *fuero de siglo*, Exodus, XXIX, 28 (I, 200b, § XLV), and *firmamiento de siglo*, Exodus, XXXI, 16 (I, 204b, § LIII), *de siglo* means « eternal ».

§ 129. SALVARE. *Saluar*, Psalm VII, 2 (II, 574b), etc.

§ 130. SANCTIFICARE. **Santiguar*, « to sanctify, make holy », Exodus, XIX, 23 (I, 190a, § XXXII), XXVIII, 38 (I, 199a, § XLIV); **santiguaçion*, « sanctuary », Exodus, XXVI, 33 (I, 197b, § XL), « holy thing, sacrifice », Exodus, XXVIII, 38 (I, 199a, § XLIV).

§ 132. SCEPTRUM. **Cebtro*, « staff », (Hebrew *matteh*), Genesis, XXXVIII, 18 (I, 78b, § XLIV) seems to have been incomprehensible to the scribe who described the drawings in the ms., for it would appear that he writes *centro* instead of **ceutro* (I, opposite p. 71) in the legend of the illustration bearing on Genesis, XXXVIII, 18. The learned form *sceptro*, Genesis, XLIX, 10 (I, 91a, § LIII) represents perhaps only a reflection of the Vulgate; it is twice repeated in the form *ceptro* in Genesis, *Glosa* 593 (I, 161a).

§ 134. SCORPIO. **Scurpion*, Deuteronomy, VIII, 15 (I, 436b), III (I), Kings, XII, 11 (I, 761b) occurs by the side of **scorpion*, Ezekiel, II, 6 (II, 242b) and *escorpion* (cf. the *Essai*).

§ 142. SYNAGOGA. *Synoga*, I, 20, chap. V; *synagoga, ibid.*, I, 7, chap. VI, *sinagoga*, I, 5, chap. V.

§ 143. TABERNACULUM. *Tauernaculo*, Genesis, IX, 27 (I, 47b), Exodus, *Glosa* 277 (I, 248b); *tabernaculo*, Exodus, XXV, 9 (I, 195a, § XXXIX).

§ 144. TABULA. *Tablas*, Exodus, XXXII, 15 (I, 205a, § LV).

§ 145. TALIARE. *Rretajar*, « circumcise », Genesis, XVII, 13 (I, 53b, § XVIII), XXXIV, 15 (I, 73b, § XXXVIII).

§ 146. TEMPERARE. .. **tenpro sobre ella *tenpraçion, que tanto quiere desir (sic) como que sacrefico ally agua o vino*.. Genesis, XXXV, 14 (I, 75a, § XL); *tenpre*, *Glosa* 498 (I, 152b).

§ 147. TEMPLUM. *Templo*, Genesis, *Glosa* 549 (I, 156b), Jeremiah, VII, 4 (II, 143b); *tenplo*, Genesis, *Glosa* 361 (I, 137b).

§ 148. TENEBRA. *Tiniebra*, I, 20, chap. V; *tiniebras*, I, 6, f° 5a.

§ 154. TRIBUS. *Tribo*, Genesis, XLIX, 28 (I, 92a, § LIII), *Glosa* 411 (I, 142b).

§ 158. VATILLUM. *Badil*, Exodus, XXVII, 3 (I, 197a, § XLI).

§ 159. VETARE. Arragel uses *deuedar*, « to prohibit », Exodus, *Glosa* 330 (I, 259a), though not in the peculiar sense characteristic of other Jewish texts. To translate *ḥadal* he uses sometimes the passive (Judges, V, 7; I, 605a) or reflexive (Ruth, I, 18; II, 459b) form of *escusar*, perhaps through the influence of the Arabic version noted in the *Essai*.

§ 161. VISIO. *Vision*, « appearance », Genesis, XLI, 3 (I, 81a, § XLVII), also written *uision*, XXIV, 16 (I, 61a, § XXVII).

§ 162. VISITARE. **Vegitar*, Genesis, L, 24, 25 (I, 93b, § LIII), *Glosa* 217 (I, 124a). Exodus, XIII, 19 (I, 183b, § XXIV), XXXII, 34 (I, 205b, § LV); **vegitaçion*, *ibid.*; **vigitar*, Numbers, *Glosa* 77 (I, 394a); and **vigitaçion*, *ibid.*, occur as well as the ordinary form *visitaçion* (*armas*), Isaiah, XV, 7 (II, 14b). The last form is due to the influence of the Vulgate, as is indicated by the presence of the variant translation following it.

§ 165. VULVA. Señor Paz y Melia prints *bulba*,

Exodus, XIII, 15 (I, 182b, § XXIII), *bulua*, Genesis, XXIX, 31 (I, 68a, § XXXIV), XXX, 22 (I, 69a, § XXXV), *Glosa* 481 (I, 150a), *vulba*, *Glosa* 609 (I, 163a) and *vulua*, Genesis, XLIX, 25 (I, 92b, § LIII).

166. ZELARI. *Zelar*, Numbers, V, 14 (I, 335b), Joel, II, 18 (II, 352b).

SUR UNE NOUVELLE ÉTYMOLOGIE DE « *CHANTEPLEURE* »

ANTOINE THOMAS

Ménage n'a pas menti. Le substantif français *chantepleure* est formé, comme il l'a dit, « du mot *chanter*, et de celui de *pleurer* ». Toutes ses autres étymologies fussent-elles mauvaises, celle-là est bonne.

On ne trouve rien sur ce mot dans son premier recueil, *Les Origines de la langue françoise*, publié en 1650. Voici ce qu'on lit dans la seconde édition, que fit paraître Simon de Val-Hébert, en 1694, sous le titre de *Dictionaire étymologique*. Je juge bon de reproduire ici, en sa forme archaïque, et de mettre sous les yeux du lecteur tout l'article de Ménage, car les philologues qui ont combattu et ceux qui combattent encore l'idée qui y est exprimée (idée due à Cobarruvias, comme Ménage le déclare lui-même), ne me paraissent pas avoir lu attentivement ce qui s'y trouve.

CHANTEPLEURE. Ce mot ſignifie proprement un arroſoir de Jardinier. Charle Etienne dans ſon livre *de re Hortenſi : Noſtri autem Clepſydris utuntur ad hortos irrigandos :*

Une CHANTEPLEURE [1] : Nicot : CHANTEPLEURE. *Clepſydra* [2]. L'origine de ce mot eſt peu connue : ce qui a donné lieu à cette épigramme du Chevalier d'Acilly [3], ceſtadire, de Mr de Cailly,

Depuis deux jours on m'entretient
Pour ſavoir d'où vient Chantepleure.
Au chagrin que j'en ay, je meure [4],
Si je ſavois d'où ce mot vient,
Je l'y renverrois tout à l'heure.

Il vient du mot *chanter*, & de celui de *pleurer* : le chant étant répréſanté par le bruit que fait l'eau de la chantepleure en ſortant par ſes petits trous, & les pleurs étant réprésantez par l'eau qu'elle répant. Et c'eſt pour la meſme raiſon, ſelon la penſée de Covarruvias, que les Eſpagnols appellent *cantimplora* un grand flacon de cuivre à large goulot, dans lequel ils font rafraiſchir, avec de la neige, le vin & l'eau. Voicy les termes de Covarruvias :

Dixoſe Cantimplora, *porque al dar el agua o el vino que tiene dentro, por razon del aire que ſe encuentra en el dicho cuello, ſuena en muchas diferencias: unas, baxas, y otras, altas: unas, triſtes, y otras, alegres: que parece cantar y llorar juntamente. En Griego ſe dize* κλαυσιγέλως : id est, ridens & flens : à verbo κλαίω, fleo, & γελάω, rideo : *Por esta*

1. Édition primitive (Paris, 1535), p. 9, art. 15. Cette phrase a passé dans le *Prædium rusticum* du même auteur (1554).

2. Plus exactement : « *Vne chantepleure*, clepsydra ». De même dans la première édition du *Dictionaire francoislatin* de Robert Estienne (1539) et dans toutes les éditions subséquentes. Dans le *Dict. Latino-gallicum* du même (1538), on lit : « Clepsydra, *Vne horloge d'eaue, Il se peult auſſi prédre pour une chantepleure* ».

3. *Sic.* L'ouvrage, publié en 1667, porte ce titre en capitales : DIVERSES PETITES POESIES DU CHEVALLIER D'ACEILLY. L'épigramme citée se trouve à la p. 20 : « SVR L'ETHYMOLOGIE de Chante-pleure ».

4. Expression elliptique : « Je consens à mourir [s'il n'est pas vrai que], si je savais, etc. » ; cf. Littré, art. *mourir*, 4°. D'Aceilly veut dire (et Ménage ne semble pas s'en être rendu compte) qu'il n'aime pas le mot *chantepleure*, lequel n'est pas de la langue commune, et qu'il est agacé du bruit qu'on fait autour de ce mot.

meſma raẓon, llaman los Franceſes Chante-plure (*sic*) *a cierto arcaduẓ, y regardera* (sic), *con que ſacan agua para regar los jardines* [1].

Les Eſpagnols diſent *llorar*, pour dire *pleurer*, & non pas *plorar :* ce qui ne permet pas de douter que l'Eſpagnol *cantimplora* n'ayt été fait du François chantepleure. En Normandie, on appelle *chantepleure*, la cannelle, ou la ſontaine, ou le robinet, d'un muy de vin, ou de cidre: acauſe, vrayſemblablement, du bruit que fait le vin ou le cidre, tombant du muy dans le vaiſſeau dans lequel on le reçoit : lequel bruit tient quelque choſe du chant, acauſe du bruit que font ceux qui chantent; & quelque choſe des pleurs, acauſe de la liqueur du vin, qui peut eſtre comparée à des larmes. Et on appelle à Lyon du meſme nom de *chantepleure*, une petite cuve trouée en pluſieurs endroits, dans laquelle on pille de la vendange, dont la liqueur s'écoule par ces petits trous dans une grande cuve. Et on l'appelle de la ſorte, acauſe de ces petits trous, ſemblables à ceux des arroſoirs des Jardiniers. On appelle auſſi à Rouen, par raillerie, *Chantepleure* un enterrement: parceque les Preſtres y chantent, & les parens du mort y pleurent.

L'étymologie de Ménage a été acceptée sans réserve, non seulement par B. de Roquefort [2], mais par Diez, dans la première édition de son *Etym. W. d. rom. Spr.* [3], par Littré, par Brachet, par Arsène Darmesteter [4], par Tobler [5] et par d'autres. Il faut noter pourtant que

1. Cf. Sebastian de Cobarruvias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (Madrid, 1611). Ménage cite exactement, en corrigeant en χλαίω la forme fautive χλεω, que donne l'original, mais en laissant passer la faute typographique *regardera*, au lieu de *regadera*, « arrosoir », due à l'imprimeur français.

2. *Dict. étym. de la langue française* (Paris, 1829), I, 145.

3. Parue en 1853 en un vol., p. 589.

4. *Traité de la formation des mots composés* (1875 et 1894), et *Dict. général de la langue française* (en collabor. avec Ad. Hatzfeld).

5. *Vermiſchte Beiträge*, 2e série, 1re éd. (1894), p. 215-6; 2e éd. (1906), p. 235-6.

Johann Leonard Frisch, dans son *Nouveau Dict. des passagers*, paru à Berlin en 1712, mais dont je n'ai pu consulter que les éditions de 1730 et de 1780, l'a modifiée quant au premier élément en écrivant : « Chantepleure, f.f. von *cantharus*, eine kanne, und *plorare*, weinen [1] ». Disons tout de suite, sans insister, que l'idée de Frisch n'a aucune valeur, et sachons lui gré de ne l'avoir pas développée.

Scheler n'a pas eu autant de retenue. Voici en effet ce qu'il a imprimé, après avoir indiqué pour mémoire l'opinion de Ménage, dans la première édition de son *Dict. d'étym. française* (1862), p. 57 :

Nous soupçonnons fort ce mot de n'être qu'une altération de *champleure*, en rouchi *campelouse*, robinet en bois. D'autres mots appartenant au domaine des arts et métiers nous révèlent l'existence d'un verbe *champler* avec une idée fondamentale d'entaille, de percement ou de creusement. Il tient probablement à la même racine *chap*, renseignée sous *chapeler*, *chapuiser*, et qui est également au fond de *chapon*. *Chantepleure* est en tout cas un de ces mots populaires formés sous l'influence d'une représentation d'esprit qu'il n'est pas toujours facile de retrouver; il se peut aussi que beaucoup de ces termes aient été façonnés de manière à donner une forme plus saisissable à des mots incompris. C'est ainsi, pour citer un exemple de ces modifications dues au génie populaire, que la poire dite *bon-chrétien* n'est autre que la pomme *panchresta*; le peuple fait partout de l'étymologie à sa manière ; il cherche à prêter un sens aux vocables, quand il n'a plus la conscience de leur origine ».

Chose incroyable, ce fatras a suffi pour que Diez, dans sa deuxième édition (1862), ait ajouté à son article *chantepleure* la remarque suivante (2e partie, p. 242), qui a passé dans les éditions ultérieures :

Das die giesskanne singen soll, ist etwas wunderlich

1. Quatrième éd. (Leipzig, 1730), col. 310.

und es liegt in *chante* wahrscheinlich eine umdeutung ; man sehe bei Frisch und Scheler.

Dans sa deuxième édition (1873), Scheler a renforcé le rouchi *campelouse* en lui adjoignant « norm. *champelure*, pic. *champleuse* », en remplaçant la définition « robinet en bois » par « cannelle de tonneau », et en ajoutant, après le mot « creusement », entre parenthèse : « *champlever*, creuser, *champlure*, trou ». Dans la troisième (1888), il a supprimé le développement inopportun (inspiré probablement par le *Dict. de Trévoux*), sur la prétendue étymologie de *bon-chrétien*. Que reste-t-il ? Absolument rien qui vaille. *Champler* « creuser » est un mot imaginaire [1] ; *champlever*, prononcé *chanlever*, ne peut avoir, ni pour le sens ni pour la forme, aucun rapport avec *chantepleure* ; les formes patoises, où le groupe *chantepl-* est réduit à *champl-* ou *chanpl-*, sont dues à l'amuissement de l'*e*, qui a eu comme conséquence le heurt de *cant'* à *pl-* et, par suite, la disparition du *t*, phénomène qui, à des siècles de distance, reproduit l'évolution phonétique du latin *antecessor*, lequel, après une étape primitive * *antcestre*, a donné *ancestre* « ancêtre », en ancien français. Loin de pouvoir servir à expliquer le français propre et traditionnel *chantepleure*, les formes patoises n'en sont que des simplifications phonétiques. Autant vaudrait prendre

1. Scheler a dû prendre dans Littré (*champlure* 2) l'indication que *champlure* signifie « trou », en tronquant la définition, qui est telle : « Trou pratiqué au bas d'un tonneau ou d'un baquet ». Littré lui-même a tronqué une définition antérieure, que je donne d'après le *Dict. de technologie* de Du Chesnel (Paris, Migne, 1857) : « *Champlure*... On donne le même nom au trou pratiqué au bas d'un tonneau ou d'un baquet pour en faire écouler le contenu ». A la bonne heure ! On voit que c'est la fonction de la cannelle, et non sa forme, qui lui a valu le nom de *chantepleure*. Littré a bien reconnu qu'on avait affaire, dans ce sens, à une « corruption de *chantepleure* ».

pour base de l'étymologie réelle les formes, encore plus évoluées, telle que *chanpreul* [1] et *chanpneuʒ*, que l'on trouve dans l'*Atlas linguistique* de Gilliéron et Edmont (carte 1160, points 278, 285, etc.) !

L'approbation relative donnée par Diez à l'opinion de Scheler a porté N. Caix à considérer l'italien *cantimplora* comme indépendant du français *chantepleure*, et à y voir l'aboutissement direct d'un type latin *canna impletoria* [2]. Cette manière de voir, si séduisante qu'elle soit au point de vue sémantique, se heurte à des difficultés phonétiques telles qu'elle ne saurait être acceptée.

On en peut dire autant de l'idée d'Eugène Robin imprimée, en 1882, dans le *Dict. du patois normand en usage dans le dép. de l'Eure*, p. 99, v° *champleure* : « Je crois, quant à moi, que la première partie de cette expression n'est qu'une corruption de *canne*, vase à contenir les liquides, ou peut-être un diminutif ayant le même sens. Une *champleure* ou une *chantepleure* serait donc « un vase qui pleure », définition qui convient à toutes les significations du mot ». Passons.

Au cours de son long mémoire intitulé : *Les noms romans du chien et leurs applications métaphoriques*, publié dans les *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, en 1907, Lazare Sainéan déclare hardiment qu'il faut voir dans *chantepleure* et ses variantes « robinet, entonnoir et arrosoir à longue queue », une application métaphorique du nom de la chenille, et que la forme française est « un compromis entre les deux

1. Forme déjà attestée à Lille, en 1599, avec la graphie *champreulle* ; cf. Godefroy, qui traduit, avec vraisemblance, par « gargouille », étant donné que c'est un plombier qui fournit l'objet.

2. *Studi di etimologia italiana e romanʒa* (Florence, 1878), p. 15 et 196. L'article sur *cantimplora* a paru d'abord, en 1875, dans le t. II, p. 229-30, de la *Rivista di filologia romanʒa*, sous une forme plus développée, que Meyer-Lübke aurait pu citer sous le n° 6597 (**plētria*) de son *Rom. etym. Wörterb.*

appellations dialectales de la chenille, *catepleure* et *canepleure* » [1]. J'ai écrit à ce propos : « L'idée de rattacher *chantepleure* « entonnoir, robinet, etc. » au nom de la chenille, primitivement *chatepeleuse*, est tellement dépourvue de base historique qu'on ne peut la discuter sérieusement » [2]. Cette idée a pourtant eu quelque vogue [3], grâce peut-être à la plume complaisante de l'illustre Michel Bréal, qui en a fait part au grand public, comme d'une vérité révélée, dans un article de la *Revue bleue* [4]. Il est donc nécessaire d'en montrer la scandaleuse inanité en la clouant au pilori.

Sainéan croit avoir ville gagnée en citant Palsgrave, éd. Génin, p. 274 et 279. Dans le premier passage, on lit : « Spygotte — *broche a uin ou a lalle... ; chantepellevse* », et dans le second : « Tappe or spygotte to drawe drinke at — *chantepleure*, f. Normant ». Mais, que l'on écrive *-pell-* ou *-pl*, cela n'a aucune importance à la date de 1530, qui est celle de Palsgrave. Quant à la coexistence des désinences *-eure* et *-euse*, elle est due à la confusion de *s* sonore et de *r*, dont le français courant porte encore les stigmates (spécialement par la coexistence de *chaire* et de *chaise*), et dont les multiples manifestations ont été souvent signalées

1. *Mémoires* cités, t. XIV, p. 248.

2. *Romania*, XL, 152.

3. Voir Kr. Nyrop, *Gr. hist. de la langue fr.*, III (1908), § 578 cf. L. Clédat, *Dict. étym. de la langue fr.* (1912 et 1920), 1re et 6e éd., v° *chantepleure* : « On a aussi considéré le mot, en raison d'une certaine ressemblance de forme entre cet objet et une chenille, comme une altération de *chatte peleuse* (chatte poilue), nom populaire de la chenille ».

4. Numéro du 9 mars 1907. L'article est intitulé : « Variétés Philologiques. — D'ou vient le mot « chante-pleure (*sic*) ». — La Philologie Réelle ou Réaliste ». Qu'il me soit permis de renvoyer à un article, destiné aussi au grand public, qui a paru sous mes initiales, dans les « Echos » du *Journal des Débats*, n° du 14 mars 1908, sous ce simple titre : « Chante-pleure, Chante-perce ».

sans épuiser le sujet [1]. Palsgrave ne confond pas le nom de la chenille avec celui de la chantepleure, puisque, pour lui, la chenille s'appelle *chattepelleuse* (éd. citée, p. 203). La confusion a pu se produire, et elle s'est produite plus tard, puisque la chenille est appelée *chantepileuse* dans l'*Alveare* de John Baret, publié en 1580 [2]; mais qu'importe cela pour la question étymologique ? Et il n'importe pas davantage de savoir que la désinence *-euse* du nom de la chenille a été altérée en *-eure*, par confusion entre les sons de *s* sonore et de *r*, comme en témoignent certaines formes patoises et l'angl. *caterpillar*, que Sainéan n'ignore pas [3].

1. Voir dans le *Journal des Débats* du 20 décembre 1914, « Échos », mon article « Valleuse », où j'étudie ce mot normand, qui a pénétré depuis peu dans le vocabulaire géographique. Sa forme plus correcte est *avaleuse*, laquelle doit se ramener (je saisis l'occasion de préciser l'étymologie du mot) à un type primitif **avaleüre*, dérivé du verbe *avaler* « descendre » avec le suffixe (correspondant au lat. *-atura*) que le français propre possède sous la forme *-ure* dans *armure*, *chaussure*, *levure*, *monture*, etc.

2. Exemple cité par Rolland, *Faune pop.*, XIII, 190.

3. Outre le mémoire cité p. 246, voir, du même auteur, *La création métaphorique en français et en roman... Le Chat* (*Beihefte zur Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.*, I (1905), 40); cf. mon compte rendu, où j'ai relevé l'interprétation erronée du guernesiais *catepeleure* par « pelage de chatte » (*Romania*, XXXV, 472). — Au dernier moment, j'ai eu connaissance d'une publication de l'auteur, qui vient de paraître (*Les sources indigènes de l'étymologie française*, Paris, E. de Boccard, 1925; 2 vol. gr. in-8°). On y retrouve les idées qui lui sont chères sur le mot *chantepleure*, idées que le temps n'a rendues ni plus acceptables pour le fond ni plus courtoises pour la forme (cf. t. I, p. 115 : « cette explication de Ménage, malgré son caractère burlesque, a été retenue par Littré et le *Dictionnaire général* »), et où le manque de critique entraîne une falsification de texte (cf. *ib.*, p. 113, n. 5, et p. 114, l'affirmation réitérée que Palsgrave appelle la chenille *chantepelleuse*, tandis que, à l'endroit visé, on lit : « Caterpyllarworme — *chattepellevse* »). — Même erreur dans Nyrop, *loc. laud.*

Il me reste à parler de l'offensive prise récemment par un jeune philologue autrichien, le Prof. Ernst Gamillscheg, non seulement contre Ménage, mais contre tous ceux qui se sont occupés de l'étymologie de *chantepleure*. Il a traité de ce mot, à l'ordre alphabétique, dans une longue série de « Französische Etymologien », p. 169-170 du tome XL de la *Zeitschr. f. rom. Philologie*, paru en 1919.

Après un préambule sans originalité, l'auteur nous communique la remarque suivante, sur laquelle il va fonder une nouvelle étymologie : « Pour l'étymologie un fait est important, c'est que le plus ancien exemple assuré, du milieu du XIII^e^ siècle, ne comporte pas d'*e* final et se présente sous la forme normande *cantepleur* ». Et il se croit autorisé [pourquoi ?] à couper ce précieux *cantepleur* en *cant*+*-epleur*. Le premier élément pourrait bien être identique au gaulois **kantos* « crible »; par suite, le second est naturellement un adjectif tiré de l'ancien verbe français *espelir* « faire passer à travers », lequel vient du gallo-roman **expellire*, lat. *expellere*. La forme primitive a dû être, en français propre, **chant-espeleor*, signifiant originairement « crible destiné à cribler »... [1].

1. Je donne, pour les passages essentiels, le texte allemand, afin que le lecteur compétent voie que mon analyse n'est pas une charge : « Für die Etymologie ist der Umstand von Bedeutung, dass der älteste sichere Beleg, an der Mitte des 13 Jahrhunderts, kein auslautendes *-e* enthält; er ercheint in der norm. Form *cantepleur*. Nachdem der zweite Bestandteil des Wortes kein Imperativ oder kein dritte Person der Einzahl ist, wird man wohl berechtigt sein, auch das erste *e* von dem scheinbaren Verbalstamm *cant-* zu trennen und zu *pleur* zu ziehen. Dieses *cant* dürfte aber wohl mit gallisch **kantos* « Sieb »... identisch sein. Das übrige bleibende *epleur* ist also wohl adjectivisch, und steht für ein älteres *espeleor*, Verbaladjectiv zu altfr. *espelir* « durchtreiben » aus einem gallorom. *expellire* für lat. *expellere*. Ein ursprüngliche **chant-espeleor* bedeutet also « Sieb, zum Durchtreiben bestimmt »...

Est-il nécessaire de réfuter les idées du Prof. Gamillscheg? On en peut douter.

Remarquons cependant que :

1° La forme *cantepleur*, sur laquelle il se fonde, sans en donner l'encadrement ni en indiquer la source, et en la qualifiant abusivement de « normande », se trouve dans l'*Album* du célèbre architecte picard Villart de Honnecourt, où on lit (pl. 16) : « Vesci *une cantepleur*... » [1] Le genre féminin de *une* prouve péremptoirement que la graphie sans *e* final du nom n'est qu'un lapsus de Villart, plus artiste que grammairien ; il n'y a rien là qui doive changer le point de départ de la recherche étymologique.

2° L'ancien verbe français *espelir* n'a pas d'autre acception que celle de « expliquer » (quand il est transitif) ou celle de « signifier, avoir tel ou tel sens » (quand il est intransitif).

3° *Chant* « crible » est aussi inconnu à l'ancien français que *espelir* « faire passer à travers ».

Je m'arrête : continuer ne serait qu'une perte de temps.

Le *Menagiana* attribue à Ménage le propos suivant : « On remarque que de tous les noms Latins purement noms propres, il n'y en a qu'un de composé, qui est *Publicola*. Je prétens même qu'il ne l'est pas, et qu'il vient de *Publica* ». Là-dessus, La Monnoye s'est écrié : « Cette prétention est nulle de toute nullité [2] ». Voilà qui est parlé. Et vraiment, si Ménage a tenu sur *Publicola* le propos qui lui est attribué, il en a pour son compte. Mais j'ose dire que son *chantepleure* est la revanche de son *Publicola*.

1. Cf. Godefroy, II, 40, et le dessin illustrant le texte dans V. Gay, *Gloss. archéol.*, I, 320.

2. *Menagiana*, 3e éd. (1715), I, 243.

Tant pis pour ceux qui, n'ayant pas assez de critique pour rendre hommage à l'étymologie de *chantepleure* qu'on doit à l'esprit combiné de Cobarruvias et de Ménage, ont eu la prétention de la jeter bas : leur « prétention », comme dit La Monnoye, « est nulle de toute nullité [1] ».

1. Meyer-Lübke accepte l'idée de Cobarruvias et de Ménage sous bénéfice d'inventaire, en ajoutant à la fin de son article (*Rom. etym. Wörterb.*, n° 1611) : « doch bedarf das Wort nach der sachlichen Seite hin noch der Aufklärung ». J'ai constitué depuis longtemps un dossier de textes et d'illustrations qui me permettrait de répondre au désir exprimé par mon éminent collègue de Bonn, mais je suis obligé d'en remettre à plus tard la dispendieuse publication.

LE LAI DE L'OISELET

RAYMOND WEEKS

Il est à regretter que le beau *Lai de l'Oiselet* soit si peu répandu, car ce gracieux poème, qui date de la première partie du XIII^e^ siècle, est de nature à plaire à toute âme bien née. Quoique nettement aristocratique et courtois, il n'y a pas que les nobles qui soient sensibles à son charme, grâce au petit héros ailé et au jardin féerique où il vient chanter. La fin du poème nous laisse sous le coup d'une espèce de magie : le petit oiseau s'envole, il ne reviendra plus ; les feuilles tombent, les eaux tarissent, la beauté du jardin disparaît pour jamais. Où l'oiselet s'envole-t-il ? Nous ne savons pas. Combien est différente la ruine d'un autre jardin, celui dont parle Eustache Deschamps dans sa chanson, *Cupidité des gens de cour* ! Ici tout est expliqué. La chanson pourrait passer pour une leçon moderne de « conservation » des richesses de la terre.

Il existe cinq manuscrits du *Lai de l'Oiselet*, tous conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale. Le plus ancien, du XIII^e^ siècle, est le ms. 837, dont voici le texte donné

sans aucun changement. Gaston Paris a publié le lai en 1884, dans un volume *per nozze*, devenu excessivement rare. Il a établi son texte d'après les cinq manuscrits [1]. Il voit dans les ms. deux groupes qui se distinguent par l'ordre des trois *sens* ou préceptes que révèle le petit oiseau. Le sens qui est le second dans les ms. 837, 24432 et Nouvelles Acquisitions, 1104, est le premier dans les deux autres ms., 25545 et 1593. Comme l'ordre de ces derniers est le même que celui du récit que Pierre Alphonse tirait de l'arabe au premier tiers du XII^e^ siècle, Gaston Paris a cru devoir baser son texte plutôt sur les ms. 25545, 1593. Le ms. 837 représente l'autre groupe. Pour la légende elle-même, on trouvera les détails dans la savante introduction du livre de Gaston Paris. Les trois préceptes du petit oiseau font depuis toujours partie de la sagesse des peuples. Les recueils de proverbes français en font preuve : voir la collection de Le Roux de Lincy et *Li Proverbe au Vilain*.

LE LAI DE L'OISELET

Ms. 837, *Bibliothèque Nationale*.

Il avint jadis a .1. tans,
Bien a passé plus de .c. ans,
Qu'il estoit uns riches vilains.
De son non ne sui pas certains,
Mes riches ert de grant maniere,
De prez, de bois et de riviere,
Et de quan qu'afiert a riche homme,

1. *Le Lai de l'Oiselet, imprimé pour le mariage Depret-Bixio,* 19 avril, 1884; réimprimé dans les *Légendes du Moyen Age*, G. Paris, Hachette, 1903.

Se dire vous en vueil la somme.
Il avoit .1. manoir si bel,
A borc, n'a vile, n'a chastel,
Se le voir vous en vueil conter,
En tout le monde n'ot son per,
Ne si gent, ne si delitable.
Certes il vous sanbleroit fable,
Qui vous en diroit la façon.
Je cuit que jamès ne face on
Tel donjon ne si haute tor,
Quar riviere coroit entor,
Qui enclooit tout le porpris.
Et li vergiers, qui fu de pris,
Estoit d'arbres et d'eve enclos.
Cil qui le fist ne fu pas fols,
Ainz fu uns chevaliers gentiz.
Après le pere l'ot li filz,
Qui le vendi a cel vilain.
Ainsi ala de main en main.
Bien savez que par mauvès oir
Dechiéent viles et manoir.
Li vergiers fu biaus a devise.
Herbes i ot de mainte guise,
Que je ne sai mie nommer.
Se le voir vous en vueil conter,
Il i avoit fueilles et flors
Qui getoient mout granz odors,
Et espices de tel maniere,
C'une ame gisant en litiere,
Qui malade fust et enferme,
S'en alast toute saine et ferme,
Por tant que el vergier geüst
Tant c'une nuit passee fust.
Li vergiers fut et biaus et lons.
Il estoit a conpas roons.
Enmi estoit une fontaine,

Qui mout estoit et clere et saine,
Et sordoit de si grant randon
Con s'ele boillist a bandon,
Et s'estoit froide conme marbre.
Onbre li fesoit .i. bel arbre,
Dont les branches bel s'estendoient,
Qui sagement duites estoient.
Quant ce venoit el mois de may,
N'i peüssiez choisir le ray
Du soleil, tant par ert ramus.
Mout par doit estre chier tenus,
Quar il est de tele nature
Que toz tens sa fueille li dure.
Vens ne orez, tant ait de force,
N'en abat fueille ne escorce.
Li pins ert deliteus et biaus.
Chanter i venoit uns oisiaus
.II. foiz le jor et plus noiant,
Et bien sachiez a esciant
Qu'il i venoit la matinee,
Et puis le soir a la vespree.
Li oisiaus fu merveilles genz.
Mout seroit granz detriemenz
Qui vous en diroit la façon.
Il ert plus petiz d'un moisson,
.I. petit graindre d'un roitel,
Si chantoit si bien et si bel,
Chans d'aloe ne de chalendre,
N'est pas si plesanz a entendre
Conme est li siens, bien le sachiez.
Li oisiaus fu bien afetiez

L'ordre des vers 70-80 est celui du ms. En marge des vers 79-80 il y a renvoi et ces mots, qui semblent être de l'écriture de Paulin Paris: « Vers transposés et rétablis dans leur ordre dans Méon ».

A dire lais et noviaus sons,
Et rotruenges et chançons ;
Gigue, ne harpe, ne viele
N'i vousist pas une cenele,
Rousingnol, melle, ne mavis,
Ne l'estormiaus, ce m'est avis.
El chant avoit une merveille,
Que nus hom n'oï sa pareille ;
Quar tel vertu avoit li chanz
Ja ne fust nus hon si dolanz,
Se l'oiselet chanter oïst,
Que maintenant ne s'esjoïst,
Et oubliast ses granz dolors,
Et s'ainc n'eüst parlé d'amors,
S'en fust il maintenant espris,
Et cuidast estre de tel pris
Conme est enpereres ou rois ;
Mes qu'il fust vilains ou courtois,
Et si eüst .c. anz passez,
Si fust il au siecle remez,
S'il oïst de l'oisel le chant,
Se li sanblast il maintenant
Qu'il fust meschins et damoisiaus,
Et si cuidast bien li dansiaus
Qu'il fust amez de damoiseles,
De meschines et de puceles.
Et une autre merveille i ot,
Que li vergiers durer ne pot
De si la que li oiseillons
I venist chanter ses douz sons,
Quar du chant issent les amors,
Qui en vertu tienent les flors,
Et li arbres et toz li mez ;
Mes que li oisiaus fust remez,
Maintenant li vergiers sechast,
Et la fontaine restanchast,

Qui par l'oisel sont en vertu.
Li vilains cui li estres fu
I vient chascun jor par coustume
Por oïr cele souatume.
A la fontaine souz le pint
Par une matinee i vint
Son vis laver a la fontaine ;
Et li oisiaus a longue alaine,
Qui desus le pint li chantoit
.I. chant qui deliteus estoit.
Li lais ert mout bons a entendre
Exanple i porroit on bien prendre
Dont mieus l'en seroit en la fin.
Li oisiaus dist en son latin :
« Or entendez tuit a mon lai,
Et chevalier et clerc et lai,
Qui vous entremetez d'amors
Et qui en souffrez les dolors !
Et a vous le di je, puceles,
Qui estes avenanz et beles,
Qui le siecle volez avoir.
Je vous di vraiement por voir
Vous devez Dieu amer avant,
Tenir la loi et son conmant,
Volentiers aler au moustier,
Et si escoutez le mestier ;
Quar du service Dieu oïr
Ne vous puet il nus maus venir,
Et par verité vous recort
Dieus et amors sont d'un acort.
Dieus aime honor et cortoisie,
Et bone amor ne het il mie.
Dieus escoute bele proiere,
Amors ne le met mie arriere.
Dieus covoite sor tout larguece ;
Il n'a nule mauvese teche.

Dieus aime et honor et bonté,
Et amors aime leauté.
Li aver sont li covoiteus,
Et li tenant li envieus,
Et li vilain sont li mauvais,
Et li felon sont li pusnais ;
Mes sens, cortoisie et honor
Et leauté maintient amor,
Et se vous a ce vous tenez,
Dieu et le siecle avoir poez ».
Ce dist li oisiaus en son chant.
Et quant vit le vilain seant
Desouz le pint qui l'escoutoit,
Qui fel et envieus estoit,
Si a chanté d'autre maniere :
« Quar lesse ton corre, riviere !
Donjons, peris ! cours, quar dechiez !
Matissiez, flors ! arbres, sechiez !
Arbre, quar lesse ton porter !
Ci me soloient escouter
Clerc et dames et chevalier,
Qui la fontaine avoient chier,
Qui plus longuement en vivoient
Et mieus par amors en amoient,
Si en fesoient les largueces,
Les cortoisies, les proeces,
Maintenoient chevalerie.
Or m'ot cil vilains plains d'envie,
Qui mieus aime assez le denier
Qu'il ne face le dosnoier.
Puis que mon chant li est faillis,
Est il au covoitier sougis.

163. *Cours*, erreur probable pour *tors*, erreur d'ailleurs qu'appuie le ms. 24432, qui donne *court*. Les ms. 1593, 25545 portent *tors*. Le ms. 1104 des Nouvelles Acquisitions porte *meson, car chiez*.

Cil me soloient escouter
Por deduire et por mieus amer,
Et por lor cors mieus rehaitier.
Et cis i vient por mieus mengier ! »
Quant ce ot dit, si s'en ala.
Et li vilains qui remest la
Pensse, se il le pooit prendre,
Assez tost le porroit chier vendre,
Et se vendre ne le pooit,
En jaiole le meteroit,
Et li chanteroit tart et tenpre.
Son engin a fet si l'atempre,
Et enquiert et gaite et porvoit
Tant que les branches aperçoit
Ou il s'asseoit plus sovent.
Iluec fet las, si les i tent.
Mout a bien sa chose atenpree,
Et quant ce vint a la vespree,
Li oisiaus el jardin revint,
Et quant il s'assist sor le pint,
S'i fu maintenant pris au las,
Li dolanz, li chetiz, li las !
Vint avant, l'oiseillon aert.
Tel loier a qui vilain sert !
Fet li oisiaus, « Ce m'est avis,
Mal avez fet qui m'avez pris !
En moi a povre raençon ».
« Ainz en orrai mainte chançon,
Quar mout chanterez plus sovent.
Servi m'avez a vo talent.
Or servirez a ma partie ».
« Ceste chançons est mal partie ;
J'en ai la pior part enprise.
Je sueil avoir a ma devise
Chanpaigne, bois, riviere et prez.
Or sui en jaiole enserrez.

Jamès n'avrai ne bien ne joie !
Je soloie vivre de proie ;
Or me donra l'en a mengier,
Si conme .i. autre prisonier.
Lesse moi aler, biaus amis,
Que bien soiés seürs et fis
Ja en prison ne chanterai ! »
« Par foi, et je te mengerai !
Ja par autre tor n'en irez ».
« En moi povre repast avrez »,
Fet li oisiaus, « ce m'est avis.
Ja n'en croistera vostre pris,
Se vous ocïez tele rien.
Lessiez me aler, si ferez bien !
Pechié ferez, se m'ocïez ».
« Certes por noient en parlez !
Quant je plus proiez en seroie,
Certes et je mains en feroie ».
« Certes », fet li oisiaus, « c'est voirs,
Quar ainsi l'aporte la lois :
Douce resons vilain aïre.
Mainte foiz l'avez oï dire.
Mes uns diz nous enseigne et glose :
Besoins fet fere mainte chose.
Ma force ne me puet tensser ;
Mes se vous me lessiez aler,
De .iij. sens vous feroie sage
Qu'ainc ne sot hon de vo lingnage,
Si te porroient mout valoir ».
« Se seürté en puis avoir »,
Fet li vilains, « je le ferai ».
« Tele fiance conme j'ai »,
Fet il, « leaument vous creant ».
Et cil le lest aler a tant.
Li oisiaus sor l'arbre s'en vole,
Qui eschapez fu par parole.

Il fu lais et toz hericiez,
Quar laidement fu manoiez.
Tenuz ot esté contre laine.
A son bec ses plumes ramaine,
Et les assiet au mieus qu'il puet.
Et le vilain savoir estuet
Les .iij. sens, se veut que li die.
Li oisiaus fu plains de voisdie,
Et li dist : « Se tu bien entens,
Aprendre i porras mout grant sens :
Ne pleure pas ce qu'ainc n'eüs ».
Li vilains ne fu mie mus,
Ainz li a dit par felonie :
« Tu m'as ta fiance mentie !
.III. sens me devoies aprendre,
Si con tu me feïs entendre,
Qu'ainc ne sot hon de mon lingnage,
Mes de ce est toz li mons sage.
Nus n'est si fols, n'onques ne fu,
Qui plorast ce qu'ainc n'ot eü.
Tu m'as bien largement menti ! »
Et li oisiaus li respondi :
« Veus tu dont que jel te redie ?
Grant paor ai que ne l'oublie.
Vous entendez tant au pledier,
J'ai grant paor de l'oublier.
Je cuit que ja nes retendrez ».
« Je les sai mieus de vous assez »,
Fet li vilains, « des grant pieça !
Dehez ait qui gré vous savra
D'aprendre ce dont je sui sages !
Je ne sui mie si sauvages,
Par mon chief, que vous me tenez.
Por ce, se m'estes eschapez
Et si n'ai mes sor vous pooir,
Dites de moi vostre voloir.

Or ne me va mie gabant.
Cestui sai bien ; or di avant ».
« Enten i bien », dist li oisiaus.
« Li autres est et bons et biaus :
Ne croire pas quanques t'os dire ».
Li vilains fronce le nez d'ire,
Et dist : « Je le savoie bien ! »
« Biaus amis, donques le retien.
Gardez que vous ne l'oubliez ! »
« Or sui je mout bien assenez »,
Fet li vilains, « por sens aprendre !
Musage me fez a entendre,
Qui ce me rueves retenir.
Je te voudroie ça tenir !
Mes se tu me tiens couvenens,
Tu me diroies le tiers sens.
Dites quels est il, si l'orrai ».
« Enten i bien, jel te dirai.
Li tiers est tels, qui le savroit
Jamès povres hon ne seroit ».
Quant li vilains l'a entendu,
Mout liez et mout joianz en fu,
Et dist : « Cestui vueil je savoir,
Quar volontiers tent a avoir ».
Qui li veïst l'oisel coitier !
« Il est », fet il, « tens de mengier.
Aprenez le moi erraument ! »
Et quant li oiseillons l'entent,
Si dist : « Je te chastoi, vilains,
De ce que tu tiens a tes mains
Ne gete pas jus a tes piez ».
Li vilains fut mout corouciez,
Et quant il s'est teüs grant pose,
Si dist, « N'estoit ce autre chose ?
Ce sont ci paroles d'enfant,
Quar je sai bien a esciant

Teus est povres et soufretous
Qui ausi bien le set con vous.
Menti m'avez et engingnié.
De quanques m'avez enseignié
Estoie je sages devant ».
Et quant li oiseillons l'entant,
Si dist : « Se tu cest sens seüsses,
Ja lessié aler ne m'eüsses,
Quant tu me tenis en tes mains ».
« Vous dites voir », fet li vilains,
« Mes je sai bien les autres .ij. »
Li oisiaus, qui fu engingneus,
Li dist : « Cist vaut des autres .c. »
Et li vilains li dist : « Conment ? »
« Conment jel dirai, dur feü.
Tu ne sez qu'il t'est avenu,
Quar se tu m'eüsses tué,
Si con tu eüs en penssé,
Ne fust jamès jor, par mes ieus,
Qu'a ton vivant ne t'en fust mieus ».
« Ha ! por Dieu, que sez tu donc faire ? »
« Ahi ! fel vilain de put aire,
Il a en mon cors une piere
Qui tant est precieuse et chiere,
Bien est de .iij. onces pesant.
La vertu de li est si grant,
Qui en son demaine l'avroit
Jamès rien ne demanderoit
Que ele lués ne li fust preste ».
Quant li vilains entendi ceste,
Si bat sa coupe et ront ses dras,
Et se claime chetiz et las.
Son vis a ses ongles depece.
Li oisiaus en ot grant leece,
Qui sus le pint le regardoit.
Et a tant atendu qu'il voit

Qu'il a tout le vis depecié,
Et qu'il est en maint leu blecié,
Puis li a dit : « Chetiz vilains,
Quant tu me tenis en tes mains,
Je fui plus legiers d'un moisson,
Que masenge ne que pinçon,
Qui ne poise pas demie once ».
Cil qui de felonie fronce
Li dist : « Par foi, vous dites voir ! »
« Vilains, dont pues tu bien savoir
Que de la pierre t'ai menti. »
« Or le sai je mout bien de fi,
Mes certes or ains le cuidai ».
« Vilains, or en droit prové t'ai
Que des .iij. sens pas ne savoies,
Et de ce que tu me disoies
Nus n'est si fols n'onques ne fu
Qui plorast ce qu'ainc n'ot eü.
Maintenant, ce m'est vis, ploras
Ce qu'ainc n'eüs ne ja n'avras.
Des .iij. sens estes abosmez.
Biaus amis, si les aprenez ! »
Quant ce ot dit, si s'en vola,
Et a tele eure s'en ala
Qu'ainc puis el vergier ne revint.
Les fueilles cheïrent du pint,
Li vergiers cheï et secha,
Et la fontaine restancha.
Li vilains perdi son deduit.
Bien le sachiez, toutes et tuit :
Li proverbes dist en apert :
Cil qui tout covoite tout pert.

Explicit le lai de l'oiselet.

VILLON ET CHARLES D'ORLÉANS

LUCIEN FOULET

François Villon et Charles d'Orléans se sont-ils connus ? On n'en saurait douter. Mais les deux textes sur lesquels on s'est jusqu'à présent fondé pour établir l'existence de ces relations n'ont pas la même valeur probante, et ni l'un ni l'autre ne dit exactement ce qu'on leur a fait dire. Il vaut donc la peine de les examiner à nouveau. Et peut-être, d'autre part, pourrons-nous faire entrer en ligne de compte un troisième texte dont le témoignage, jusqu'ici négligé, pourrait bien être le plus significatif de tous.

I

Le célèbre manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale[1] qui renferme les poésies de Charles d'Orléans contient, comme on sait, un assez grand nombre de pièces qui ne sont pas du duc lui-même, mais ont été composées par ses amis, ses invités, ses correspondants, ce qu'on

1. Ms. franç. 25458.

peut appeler les gens de son « cercle ». Ce manuscrit n'est pas une copie plus ou moins éloignée d'un original disparu, il provient de la cour de Blois, de la demeure ducale. Charles lui-même a pris la peine d'y copier plus d'une de ses compositions. [1] Or l'une des pièces de ce précieux recueil porte le titre de « Ballade Villon ». [2] Voilà qui est net. A moins qu'il n'y ait eu vers le milieu du xv[e] siècle deux poètes — et deux poètes de talent — qui aient porté le nom de Villon, nous sommes assurés que le duc d'Orléans a accueilli dans le manuscrit de ses œuvres une pièce de l'auteur futur du *Testament*. A quel titre ? S'agit-il d'une ballade connue qu'on aurait répétée et recopiée à Blois, sans que son auteur fût nécessairement un familier de cette cour, sans qu'il s'y fût même montré ? Nullement. La pièce de Villon reprend le premier vers d'une ballade de Charles d'Orléans « Je meurs de soif auprès de la fontaine », [3] où le duc s'était ingénié à accumuler les contradictions les plus piquantes et les plus inattendues. Or Villon n'est pas le seul qui ait fait assaut d'esprit avec le maître de Blois : une dizaine d'autres rimeurs, dont une bonne moitié nous sont connus, entrèrent également dans la lice. [4] L'un est médecin du duc, l'autre son conseiller, un troisième son écuyer tranchant : nous ne sortons pas de Blois ou de la région de Blois, il est visible que nous sommes dans l'entourage même de Charles d'Orléans. Tous ces bons rimeurs

1. Voir Pierre Champion, *Le Manuscrit original des poésies de Charles d'Orléans*, 1907.

2. Éd. Longnon-Foulet, 1914, p. 84 (*Poésies Diverses*, VII).

3. Éd. d'Héricault, t. I, p. 114.

4. Voir Pierre Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, 1911, pp. 653-4. On trouvera dans le même livre et aux mêmes pages une discussion de la date de ce « Concours ». Cette date reste incertaine. Tout ce qu'on entrevoit, c'est qu'elle doit se placer entre 1457 et 1460.

ont sans doute admiré la spirituelle ballade de leur Mécène, et c'est peut-être au sortir d'une lecture qu'il venait de leur en faire que tous, piqués d'une belle émulation, ont voulu mourir de soif auprès de la fontaine. Voilà ce qu'on a appelé le « concours de Blois ». Si Villon a « concouru », c'est qu'il était à Blois au moment de cette lutte poétique, et qu'il y était en qualité de poète.

Y avait-il été auparavant à titre de serviteur du duc? On le soutient volontiers, en se fondant sur un des vers même de la « Ballade Villon ». Ce vers est le quatrième de l'Envoi: nous le soulignons :

> Prince clement, or vous plaise sçavoir
> Que j'entens moult et n'ay sens ne sçavoir :
> Parcial suis, a toutes loys commun.
> *Que sais je plus? Quoy ? Les gaiges ravoir*,
> Bien recueully, debouté de chascun. (v. 31-35).

Le poète demande à « ravoir » les gages, nous dit-on. C'est donc qu'il les a eus autrefois. Son nom a figuré un instant sur le rôle des serviteurs de la maison d'Orléans, et Villon voudrait bien l'y voir figurer de nouveau. De là les « deux séjours » du poète à Blois que mentionnent d'ordinaire les biographes de Villon. Nous ne croyons pas à ces deux séjours, ou du moins nous ne pensons pas que l'envoi de la Ballade nous autorise à les supposer. Car enfin que signifie le vers en question? Pas autre chose, semble-t-il, que « Je sais ravoir les gages. » Mais quelle singulière façon de présenter une requête! Jamais fonctionnaire mis en disponibilité a-t-il ainsi demandé à être réintégré dans son poste? Si le poète avait dit : « Que veux je plus ? Ravoir les gages », peut-être la prière eût-elle été un peu brusque, mais elle eût été claire. En fait Villon a employé le verbe « savoir » : c'est sans doute qu'il voulait dire autre chose. On n'a pas pris garde que l'interprétation traditionnelle

introduit un heurt dans le développement limpide de la ballade. Assurément l' « envoi » d'une ballade ne continue pas toujours le thème des strophes précédentes, et il est naturel et assez ordinaire d'y glisser une requête. Mais ici justement les trois premiers vers de l'envoi reprennent le thème, si bien développé auparavant, des oppositions ingénieuses, et le dernier vers avec son refrain ironique « bien recueully, debouté de chascun » souligne encore le même contraste. Nous ne croyons pas que dans cet ensemble si étroitement lié le quatrième vers puisse jeter une note discordante.

Voyons si « gaiges » a bien ici le sens que lui donnent d'ordinaire les commentateurs. Il est certain qu'au sens d' « appointements » ou de « traitement », comme nous dirions aujourd'hui, le mot est courant au xv[e] siècle. Voici, à titre d'exemple, un passage de Deschamps :

> J'oy a XII ans grant ymaginative,
> Jusqu'a XXX ans je ne cessay d'aprandre...
> Lors me donnoit chascun *gaiges* et robes ;
> Or diminue par viellesce mes sens [1].

L'expression « casser aux gages » semble dater de la même époque [2]. Mais, parallèlement à cette acception du mot, il en existe une autre plus ancienne et qui a probablement donné naissance à la seconde. Les « gages », ce sont les objets qu'on remet à un prêteur ou à un marchand en garantie d'une dette qu'on vient de contracter. En particulier, à une époque où le numéraire était moins abondant qu'aujourd'hui et où la petite monnaie était rare, on payait souvent le tavernier par

1. Éd. de Queux de Saint Hilaire, t. II, p. 52, ballade CCXV, v. 1-2, 7-8. — Du reste cet emploi est déjà très connu au XIV[e] siècle : voir Joinville, édition classique de Wailly, p. 51, § 118, et p. 172, § 412.

2. Voir par exemple Charles d'Orléans, éd. d'Héricault, t. II, p. 139, rondeau CXI, v. 11.

exemple en lui laissant des vêtements, une épée en gage quitte à racheter plus tard le tout, si l'on y tenait. Les grands seigneurs récompensaient fréquemment les services rendus en « acquittant les gages » de ceux qui les avaient obligés [1]. Nous ne savons si cette coutume généreuse, bien des fois attestée au XII^e^ et au XIII^e^ siècle, persistait encore au XV^e^ siècle, mais il est sûr qu'à cette date on continue à laisser des « gages » à la taverne. Dans ses *Lais* Villon lègue à « maistre Ythier Marchant » son « branc d'acier tranchant »

> Qui en est *gaige* detenu
> Pour ung escot huit solz montant. (v. 85-86).

Et on se préoccupait encore de « ravoir son gage » ou ses gages, et ce n'était pas toujours facile :

> Tel cuide bien *ravoir son gaige*
> A qui on dit : « Je vous le nye. »[2]

Nous croyons que c'est là le sens où Villon prend l'expression dans le vers qui nous intéresse. Nous traduirions ainsi tout l'Envoi : « Prince clément, sachez, je vous prie, que je comprends très bien les choses et que pourtant je n'ai ni sens ni savoir, que je suis l'homme d'un parti et que pourtant je me plie aux injonctions de tous les partis. Que sais-je encore ? Peut-être rentrer en possession de mes gages ! — bien accueilli, repoussé de chacun. » Pour un pauvre diable comme lui qui n'a pas denier en poche, c'est en effet le comble de l'habilité que de retirer ses «brayes » qui sont aux « Trumelieres » [3] ou son « gipon » qui est ailleurs.

1. Voir en particulier Paul Meyer, éd. de *L'Escoufle*, 1894, p. XVI et note 1.

2. Guillaume Alexis, éd. Piaget-Picot, t. I, p. 117, *Les Faintises du monde*, v. 847-8.

3. Cf. *Lais*, v. 102. — Nous notons que, sur la question des deux séjours de Blois et sur l'interprétation du mot *gages*, M. Gustave Charlier est arrivé à la même conclusion que nous. (*Archivum Romanicum*, IV, 1920, p. 506-24).

Nous retrouvons là l'opposition que nous offre chacun des vers de la ballade, mais autrement réelle cette fois et plus aiguisée d'ironie. Il est possible, et même probable, que sous la plaisanterie se dissimule une demande de secours, mais il n'y a rien à en tirer pour la biographie de Villon. Nous ne savons que trop qu'il n'a jamais souffert d'un excès de richesses.

II

Le second texte qui rapproche Villon de Charles d'Orléans est l' «Epître à Marie d'Orléans » [1]. C'est une œuvre énigmatique. La princesse qui y est célébrée est nommé Marie, sans plus. On a cru autrefois qu'il s'agissait de Marie de Bourgogne, fille de Charles le Téméraire, née le 13 février 1457 [2]. Depuis longtemps on s'accorde à penser que Marie doit être Marie d'Orléans, née le 19 décembre 1457. On peut considérer l'hypothèse comme presque sûre : une princesse qui est issue du sang de France, dont la naissance, impatiemment attendue, comble les cœurs de joie, une princesse qui s'appelle Marie, un chant de triomphe qui est inséré dans le manuscrit même des poésies du duc d'Orléans, il est clair que toutes ces circonstances nous renvoient à la fille du duc Charles et de Marie de Clèves, seule enfant des deux époux, venue au monde après dix-huit ans de mariage. Pourtant on est surpris de lire ces vers :

> Du doulx seigneur *premiere et seule*
> *Fille*, de son cler sang extraicte
> Du dextre costé Clovis traicte. (VIII, v. 19-21).

1. Éd. Longnon-Foulet, 1914, p. 85 (*Poésies Diverses*, VIII).
2. C'était l'opinion de Prompsault qui le premier publia *Le Dit de la naissance de Marie de Bourgogne* dans son édition des Œuvres de Villon, 1832.

Marie d'Orléans est en 1457 la seule fille de Charles d'Orléans, mais elle n'est pas la première. De son mariage avec Isabelle de France, fille aînée de Charles VI, le jeune duc avait eu jadis une fille, Jeanne, née en septembre 1409, qui en 1424 épousa à Blois Jean II duc d'Alençon et mourut en 1432, sans laisser d'enfants. Au bout de vingt-cinq ans, il est vrai, le souvenir de Jeanne d'Orléans avait dû s'effacer de bien des mémoires, Charles d'Orléans, lui du moins, n'avait pas oublié sa fille. A peu près à la même époque où est composée l'Épître qui nous occupe, il faisait allusion au mariage de Jeanne : c'est dans le discours qu'il prononça en août 1458 devant la cour de justice réunie pour juger le cas du duc d'Alençon, accusé de trahison envers la couronne de France. Rappelant les vieux souvenirs qui le liaient au père de son gendre, il disait : « En la querelle de mondit seigneur mon pere, il se habandonna du tout et me servit ung voyage a ses propres coustz et despens, a huit cens chevalier et escuiers, pourquoy et pour l'amour que j'avoye a lui je baillay ma seule fille en mariage a sondit fiz qui est a present. [1] » Un jeune poète de la cour de Blois n'avait pas les mêmes raisons que le duc de se rappeler ces souvenirs lointains, et on peut concevoir que « première et seule fille » signifie pour lui « première et seule fille de Charles d'Orléans et de Marie de Clèves ». Dans la phrase que nous venons de citer Charles d'Orléans ne dit-il pas qu'il a donné en mariage à Jean d'Alençon « sa seule fille » alors qu'au moment où il prononce ces mots, la petite Marie d'Orléans a déjà quelques mois d'existence ? Il est clair qu'il veut dire « la seule fille — et l'unique enfant — que j'eusse alors ». Acceptons donc Marie

1. Aimé Champollion-Figeac, *Louis et Charles ducs d'Orléans*, 1844, t. I, p. 371.

d'Orléans comme la princesse à qui s'adresse l'auteur de l'Épitre.

A quelle occasion cette pièce a-t-elle été composée ? Qu'on la lise d'un bout à l'autre et qu'on la relise, qu'on en examine chaque phrase, chaque mot, on ne trouvera pas une allusion qui ne se rapporte uniquement à la naissance de Marie. Toutefois, si le poète écrit à quelques jours, ou même à quelques mois, de cet heureux événement, comme il serait naturel en la circonstance, que penser des vers que voici ?

> Port asseuré, maintien rassiz,
> Plus que ne peut nature humaine,
> Et eussiez des ans trente six :
> Enfance en rien ne vous demaine. (VIII, v. 109-112).

On n'attend pas qu'un poète chantant sur le mode lyrique la naissance d'une princesse s'en tienne strictement aux humbles réalités de la vie courante : tout de même ici l'hyperbole est un peu hardie. Aussi préfère-t-on croire d'ordinaire que l'Épitre, qui célèbre la naissance de Marie, a été pourtant écrite quelques années plus tard, lors de l'entrée de la même Marie à Orléans (17 juillet 1460). La petite princesse a trente et un mois à ce moment, et les vers que nous venons de citer, sans devenir très naturels, en deviennent pourtant moins invraisemblables. Il est vrai qu'un autre passage est aussi surprenant dans un cas que dans l'autre:

> Saige Cassandre, belle Echo,
> Digne Judith, caste Lucresse,
> Je vous congnois, noble Dido,
> A ma seule dame et maistresse. (VIII, v. 121-124).

Il faut donc admettre que de toute façon le poète a reculé les bornes ordinaires du panégyrique. Que conclure? La pièce est-elle de 1457 ou de 1460 ? M. Pierre Champion, après avoir hésité comme nous et pour les

mêmes raisons, adopte la seconde date : « Ce qui me paraît le seul élément certain pour résoudre cette question, dit-il, c'est que la délivrance des prisonniers avait toujours lieu à la suite des joyeuses entrées. Et l'on peut croire que l'idée d'une naissance, miraculeuse en quelque sorte, demeurait toujours associée à la petite personne de Marie, venue au monde après dix-huit ans de mariage » [1]. L'Épître mentionne en effet des prisonniers délivrés. Mais il est clair que pour le poète c'est le moindre des bienfaits dont les populations sont redevables à la petite princesse. Cette chaste Lucrèce qu'ont envoyée ici-bas les cieux «bastist et brasse » « nostre paix », pour le plus grand profit des riches et des pauvres, pour la terreur des félons et des avares :

Nom recouvré, joye de peuple,
Confort des bons, de maulx retraicte...
En l'amour et crainte de Dieu
Es nobles flans Cesar conceue,
Des petis et grans en tout lieu
A tres grande joye receue,
De l'amour Dieu traicte, tissue,
Pour les discordez ralier
Et aux enclos donner yssue,
Leurs lians et fers deslier. (VIII, v. 17-18, 25-32).

Oui, les portes des prisons ont été ouvertes, mais voici qu'en même temps les anciennes discordes s'éteignent et que la paix est désormais assurée dans les domaines de « César ». La joyeuse entrée d'une enfant de trois ans dans la bonne ville d'Orléans peut-elle apporter au monde une pareille bénédiction ? On croirait parfois que le poète songe à la longue et sanglante rivalité des maisons de Bourgogne et d'Orléans, et qu'il se réjouit de la voir terminée. Toutefois ce n'est pas

1. *François Villon, sa vie et son temps*, 1913, t. II, p. 109, n. 1.

l'entrée de Marie à Orléans qui a eu cet effet, ni même la naissance de cette « sage Cassandre ». C'est dix-huit ans plus tôt que le mariage de Charles d'Orléans avec la nièce du duc de Bourgogne avait scellé une réconciliation longtemps désirée. Dira-t-on que ce mariage ne devait prendre toute sa signification aux yeux des contemporains que le jour où un enfant des deux époux symboliserait l'union des deux familles rivales ? C'est possible, et c'est ce qui expliquerait la naïve strophe suivante :

> Aucunes gens, qui bien peu sentent,
> Nourris en simplesse et confis,
> Contre le vouloir Dieu attentent,
> Par ignorance desconfis,
> Desirans que feussiez ung fils ;
> Mais qu'ainsi soit, ainsi m'aist Dieux,
> Je croy que ce soit grans proufis.
> Raison : Dieu fait tout pour le mieulx. (VIII, v. 33-40).

Une « double ballade » est insérée dans l'Épître. Les critiques tendent en général à y voir une pièce distincte de l'autre, antérieure ou postérieure aux strophes qui la précèdent et la suivent. [1] Mais pourquoi ne pas accepter ici aussi le témoignage du manuscrit ? Même facture, mêmes hyperboles, mêmes citations latines, rien n'invite à disjoindre ces deux fragments semblables d'un tout. La strophe III évoque la même période de troubles et de dissensions à laquelle fait allusion le reste de l'Épître :

> Envoiee de Jhesucrist,
> Rappellez ça jus par deça
> Les povres que Rigueur proscript
> Et que Forune betourna. (VIII, v. 65-68).

1. Voir en particulier Gaston Paris, *François Villon*, 2e éd. 1910, p. 58, et Pierre Champion, *François Villon*, t. II, p. 106, n. 2 et 109, n. 1.

Toutefois, il est surprenant que la princesse qui a délivré les prisonniers, fait cesser les discordes et ramené la paix n'ait point encore rappelé les bannis, et qu'on doive la supplier d'y penser sans délai. Est-ce que la mesure était de réalisation plus difficile ? Ou, malgré la gaucherie du tour qui en résulte, faut-il conserver le texte du manuscrit que les éditeurs ont légèrement modifié au vers 66 ? On lirait dans ce cas :

Envoiee de Jhesucrist
Rappeler ça jus...

« Vous qui avez été envoyée ici-bas par Jesus-Christ pour rappeler... » L'accord serait ainsi plus net avec le reste de l'Épitre, et avec les vers qui suivent. Quoi qu'il en soit, il y a ici des bannis de toute façon. A-t-on donc attendu dix-huit ans pour leur rouvrir l'accès des domaines du duc d'Orléans ? C'est la même question que tout à l'heure, quoique posée sous cette forme il soit plus difficile ici de l'écarter. S'il ne s'agit pas de la rivalité de Bourgogne et d'Orléans, de quoi s'agit-il ? Où voit-on par ailleurs que la naissance de Marie ou son entrée à Orléans ait causé de par le monde une telle commotion ? S'agirait-il seulement de bannis par mesure de justice, des « interdits de séjour », comme nous dirions aujourd'hui ? Malgré ces grands mots de « joie de peuple », «confort des bons », « paix des povres et des riches », réconciliation des « discordez », qui suggèrent de plus hautes infortunes, il est possible en effet que les bannis soient simplement ici les camarades de malheur des « enclos ».

Dans quelle catégorie de loyaux sujets de la princesse le poète se range-t-il ? On a généralement conclu des termes mêmes de la pièce que Villon, condamné à mort par les tribunaux du duc d'Orléans et jeté en prison, n'avait dû son salut qu'à la princesse Marie.

Mais cette interprétation presse trop le sens des passages visés. S'il est question dans l'Épitre de « donner yssue aux enclos », pas un mot ne nous assure que le poète lui-même ait été libéré d'une prison quelconque. La Ballade assurément crie la reconnaissance d'un homme qu'une intervention miraculeuse vient d'arracher à la mort :

> Si sçay bien comment il m'en va :
> De Dieu, de vous, vie je tien. (VIII, v. 69-70).
>
> Cy, devant Dieu, fais congnoissance
> Que creature feusse morte,
> Ne feust vostre doulce naissance,
> En charité puissant et forte,
> Qui ressuscite et reconforte
> Ce que Mort avoit prins pour sien. (VIII, 73-78).
>
> Princesse, ce loz je vous porte,
> Que sans vous je ne feusse rien. (VIII, v. 97-98).

Mais qu'on y prenne garde ! Nulle mention d'un jugement, d'une condamnation, d'une prison dans tout cela. Réticence calculée ? Villon sera moins discret dans le *Testament* à l'endroit de la geôle de Meung. Il est possible qu'en 1457 ou 1460 Marie l'ait tiré des mains du bourreau, mais elle a pu — ou son père pour elle et pour l'amour d'elle — le sauver de la maladie, de la misère, de la faim. En tout cas le doute est permis.

Villon est-il l'auteur de cette pièce singulière ? S'il fallait en croire une opinion déjà ancienne, la question ne se poserait même pas. L'Épître et la « Ballade Villon » auraient été transcrites dans le manuscrit ducal de la main même de l'auteur des *Lais*. Mais les critiques modernes qui ont le mieux étudié les œuvres du poète ont tous rejeté cette hypothèse, et nous ne la

retiendrons pas.[1] La pièce est faible, tout le monde en convient, plus faible qu'aucune autre des œuvres de Villon, — sans en excepter la Ballade de « Louenge a la court »,[2] où l'étrangeté du thème et le mauvais goût des détails sont du moins rachetés par la bonne humeur du développement et la verve d'un Envoi fort bien venu. Toutefois, il ne suffit pas que la pièce soit peu digne du talent de Villon pour qu'on ait le droit de la lui retirer, si nous avons des raisons de l'en croire l'auteur. Il est remarquable d'abord que la forme métrique soit celle du *Testament* : il n'est pas jusqu'à la ballade insérée au beau milieu de l'Épitre qui ne contribue à la ressemblance. D'autre part, la pièce est signée « Vostre povre escolier Françoys ». Or Villon signe parfois « Françoys »,[3] il aime à se dire « escolier »,[4] il est incontestablement pauvre, et enfin on a fait remarquer que le prénom de François est alors très peu répandu. Étant donné qu'il y a, à ce moment, dans les parages de Blois ou d'Orléans, un pauvre écolier, nommé François, que ce pauvre écolier François est un poète et qu'une ballade de ce poète a été recueillie dans le manuscrit du duc d'Orléans, il est bien peu vraisemblable qu'une autre pièce, contenue dans le même manuscrit et signée « vostre povre escolier Francoys », ne soit pas précisément du même auteur. Jusqu'à preuve du contraire, nous admettrons que l'Épître à Marie d'Orléans est de Villon, mais on avouera qu'il n'est guère possible de l'utiliser pour une biographie du poète.

1. Voir Louis Thuasne, *Villon et Rabelais*, 1911, p. 87, n. 1; Pierre Champion, *François Villon*, t. II, p. 106, n. 2; Auguste Longnon, *Œuvres* de Villon, éd. de 1914, p. VIII.

2. Éd. Longnon-Foulet, p. 97 (*Poésies Diverses*, XV).

3. Acrostiche aux v. 942-9 du *Testameut* (« Ballade a s'amye ») ; *Poésies Diverses*, XIII, 1, et cf. XII, 2 et 37.

4. *Lais*, v. 2, *Testament*, v. 1886.

III

Peut-être y a-t-il plus à tirer, sous ce rapport, d'une autre pièce de Villon, bien connue à la vérité, mais qui n'a pas encore été citée dans le débat. Il s'agit d'une des ballades du *Testament* « Faulse beauté qui tant me couste chier » (v. 942-969). Villon s'en prend à une cruelle qui l'a traité avec la plus insigne dureté. Nous reconnaissons là d'entrée de jeu un des thèmes favoris du *Testament*. Villon aime à se proclamer victime de l'amour :

> Cy gist et dort en ce sollier,
> Qu'Amours occist de son raillon.. (v. 1884-5).

dit son épitaphe, et l'idée sera reprise dans la Ballade de conclusion :

> Venez a son enterrement,
> Quant vous orrez le carrillon,
> Vestus rouge com vermillon,
> Car en amours mourut martir... (v. 1998-2001).
> Quant mourut n'avoit qu'ung haillon ;
> Qui plus, en mourant mallement
> L'espoignoit d'Amours l'esguillon ;
> Plus agu que le ranguillon
> D'un baudrier luy faisoit sentir. (v. 2013-17).

Qu'est-ce donc que cet amour malheureux dont le souvenir tourmente si fort le poète? Ne s'agirait-il pas de sa chère Rose qu'il nomme au vers 910 tout de suite après son bienfaiteur, sa mère et la Vierge? Il est vrai qu'il n'en a plus « le croppion chault » (v. 921), mais on peut croire qu'il fait de nécessité vertu. Il est certain qu'il charge son ami Pernet de la Barre (fort entendu à « l'amoureux mestier », *Lais* v. 177 et suiv.) de lui remettre une très intéressante Ballade, qui est précisément celle dont le vers 942 forme le début. Que repro-

che-t-il à la belle dans cette ballade « qui se termine tout par R », pour mieux crier son nom [1] ? Surtout son peu de sincérité. Sa douceur apparente n'était qu'hypocrisie, sa tendresse cachait une dureté de saveur très amère, sa beauté était perfide, son charme sournois, et son orgueil dissimulé tuait les gens. On comprend que dans ce commerce dangereux Villon ait bientôt laissé toute espérance :

Car onques n'y peuz acquester
D'espoir une seule estincelle
(Je ne sçay s'a tous si rebelle
A esté, ce m'est grant esmoy ;
Mais, par Sainte Marie la belle !
Je n'y voy que rire pour moy). (v. 928-33).

Ce rôle d'amant transi et dupé, il ne se lasse pas d'y ramener sa pensée. Il nous l'a décrit plus haut, très en détail :

Se celle que jadis servoie
De si bon cuer et loyaument,
Dont tant de maulx et griefz j'avoie
Et souffroie tant de torment,
Se dit m'eust, au commencement,
Sa voulenté (mais nennil ! las),
J'eusse mis paine aucunement
De moy retraire de ses las.

Quoy que je lui voulsisse dire,
Elle estoit preste d'escouter
Sans m'accorder ne contredire ;
Qui plus, me souffroit acouter
Joignant d'elle, pres m'accouter,
Et ainsi m'aloit amusant,
Et me souffroit tout raconter ;
Mais ce n'estoit qu'en m'abusant. (v. 673-88).

Et ainsi de suite, pendant cinq autres strophes. On

1. Cf. v. 958-9 et 962.

sent dans ces vers les regrets poignants d'un amour déçu, mais on y surprend aussi le frémissement de l'orgueil blessé. Villon a été joué par une plus fine que lui. Plus que de son indifférence, il lui en veut de sa coquetterie et de sa duplicité. Comment lui, l'écolier déluré, qui voit si clair dans les petits manèges de la comédie humaine, comment s'est-il laissé prendre aux pauvres artifices d'une minaudière ? De colère autant que de désespoir il renonce à l'Amour, ou plutôt il y a renoncé déjà. Car cette trahison n'est pas nouvelle : Villon a eu le temps de la méditer : « se celle que *jadis* servoie » (v. 673).

On est ainsi amené à remonter dans le passé de cet homme de trente ans, et on découvre que cinq ans auparavant, en décembre 1456, il se plaint déjà d'une perfidie toute semblable — si semblable que ce doit être la même. Et cette fois le cas est tout récent. Pourquoi en effet va-t-il quitter Paris à la fin de cette année 1456 ? Il a peut-être plus d'une raison pour souhaiter ce départ, mais le fait est qu'il se plaint uniquement d'une perfide, qui l'a berné d'outrageuse façon. Il avait eu la naïveté de prendre pour lui

> Ces doulx regars et beaux semblans
> De tres decevante saveur
> Me trespersans jusques aux flans. (*Lais*, v. 26-28).

Il est détrompé maintenant :

> Le regart de celle m'a prins
> Qui m'a esté felonne et dure :
> Sans ce qu'en riens aye mesprins,
> Veult et ordonne que j'endure
> La mort, et que plus je ne dure. (v. 33-37).

Que lui reste-il à faire que de s'enfuir, abandonnant la place à un autre qui « est en quelongne » ? Il est vrai qu'il ajoute gaillardement :

Par elle meurs, les membres sains ;
Au fort, je suis amant martir
Du nombre des amoureux sains. (v. 46-48).

Mais ne soyons pas dupes de cette gaminerie que lui arrache un reste de respect humain. Il dira de même dans le *Testament*, comme nous savons, « plus n'en ay le croppion chault » Ce n'est pas dans ces boutades narquoises qu'il faut chercher sa vraie pensée. Voici qui dès 1456 a des chances de sonner plus juste :

Item, a celle que j'ai dit,
Qui si durement m'a chassié
Que je suis de joye interdit
Et de tout plaisir dechassié
Je laisse mon cuer enchassié,
Palle, piteux, mort et transy :
Elle m'a ce mal pourchassié,
Mais Dieu luy en face mercy ! (v. 73-80).

Naturellement les vers du *Testament* ont une autre profondeur et un autre accent. C'est qu'il s'y ajoute le retentissement de cinq ans d'une vie orageuse et la rancœur de sa dure captivité de Meung. Si l'on néglige ces nuances, il reste que les *Lais* et la Ballade à s'amie, avec les passages qui l'accompagnent et l'éclairent, nous présentent la même situation. Entre le poème de 1456 et la ballade les ressemblances d'expression sont parfois frappantes. Rapprochons par exemple les vers 17-20 des Lais :

Je le feis en telle façon
Voyant celle devant mes yeulx
Consentant a ma *desfaçon*,
Sans ce que ja luy en fust mieulx.

et les vers 945-946 du *Testament* : [Faulse beauté...]

Nommer que puis, de ma *desfaçon* seur,
Cherme felon, la mort d'ung povre cuer.

C'est le moment de noter que la Ballade est écrite en vers de 10 syllabes et qu'elle porte la signature du poète en acrostiche : elle a donc été enchâssée dans le *Testament*, et elle lui est par conséquent antérieure. C'est ce que confirmerait, s'il en était besoin, le vers 962 : Villon y parle du moment où il sera vieux. Dans le *Testament* il considère ce moment comme venu, bien venu. De tout ce qui précède il est naturel de conclure que la Ballade a été écrite assez peu de temps après le départ de 1456. Ainsi s'expliquent tout naturellement ces deux vers de la seconde strophe :

> Trotter m'en fault *en fuyte* et deshonneur.
> *Haro*, *haro*, le grant et le mineur ! (v. 953-4)

qu'il faut rapprocher des vers 41-3 et 55-6 des *Lais* :

> Pour obvier a ces dangiers,
> Mon mieulx est, ce croy, de *fouïr*.
> Adieu ! Je m'en vois a Angiers....
> C'est pour moy piteuse besongne :
> Dieu en vueille oïr *ma clameur !*

Ainsi, il s'agit bien de Rose dans tous les cas [1] ; celle « qui si durement m'a *chassié* », dit-il en 1456 (v. 74),

> Car *chassié* fut comme ung souillon
> *De ses amours* hayneusement (*T.* v. 2005-06)

répète-t-il en 1461, parlant de lui-même [2]. Et la Bal-

1. Noter que dans les *Lais*, comme dans le *Testament*, le legs à sa belle vient tout au début, immédiatement après celui qu'il destine à Guillaume de Villon. Dans le *Testament* Rose, il est vrai, est séparée du digne prêtre par la mention de la mère du poète. C'est que Villon a probablement revu la bonne vieille à Angers en 1457 après une longue absence, et qu'au moment où il écrit son poème le malheur, comme il arrive, a réveillé en lui le sentiment filial.

2. Les rapprochements que nous venons d'indiquer ont déjà été signalés en partie par Auguste Longnon, *Étude biographique*

lade a s'amie est le cri de douleur que lui arrache ce renvoi brutal. Il s'y mêle un regret, celui d'avoir passé à côté d'un amour plus noble et plus sincère :

> Mieux m'eust valu avoir esté serchier
> Ailleurs secours : c'eust esté mon onneur ;
> Riens ne m'eust sceu lors de ce fait hachier.[1] (v. 950-2)

Le nom de celle qui l'aurait ainsi sauvé est vraisemblablement celui que donne l'acrostiche de la deuxième strophe MARTHE[2] (v. 950-955). Confidence rapide

sur François Villon, 1877, p. 40-41, Gaston Paris, *François Villon*, pp. 110, 128, 146, Pierre Champion, *François Villon*, t. II, ch. IX ; mais, ou bien la portée en est arbitrairement restreinte (voir G. Paris, *ibid.*, p. 147), ou bien la signification ne s'en dégage pas très nettement par suite d'une confusion qu'on fait entre ce qui se rapporte à Rose et ce qui se rapporte à Catherine de Vausselles. L'aventure où intervient cette dernière semble bien remonter à une époque assez antérieure à 1456 : les seuls passages qui y renvoient plus ou moins explicitement (*T.* v. 657-63, 1636-43 et déjà sans doute *L.* v. 261-64) sont du reste obscurs. — Cet article était depuis longtemps terminé quand nous avons eu le plaisir de voir que dès 1920 M. Gustave Charlier (*Archivum Romanicum*, IV, p. 506-24) avait parfaitement démêlé ce qui, dans les allusions de Villon, se rapporte à la lointaine Catherine de Vausselles et ce qui se rapporte à « l'autre », l'héroïne de son « roman d'amour » ; seulement pour désigner cette autre, M. Charlier a écarté le nom de Rose pour y substituer, à tort croyons-nous, celui de Marthe.

1. Le mot *hachier*, attesté par l'accord des mss. C et F, a embarrassé les commentateurs. C'est un vocable rare, et déjà A l'a remplacé par un terme plus clair *arrachier*, où il faut sans doute voir un équivalent approximatif du premier. Le passage suivant de Gerson indique dans quelle direction il faut chercher la nuance exacte du mot : « Helas ! que dy je qu'il s'en va seulet ? Il ne s'en va pas (a parler proprement) ; on le *hache*, on le tire, on le boute, on le trubuche ». Sermon *Ad Deum vadit*, éd. D. H. Carnahan, 1917, p. 61.

2. La première strophe porte en acrostiche le nom de *Francoys* (v. 942-949). Sur la possibilité d'un autre acrostiche à la troisième strophe, voir *Romania*, 1913, p. 511, n. 5.

sur laquelle il ne reviendra pas. Sans doute il eût mieux valu aimer Marthe, mais quoi ! c'est Rose qu'il a aimée, et qu'il aime encore. C'est à elle que, jouant sur son nom, il adresse la troisième strophe, d'une ironie si amère. Nous la traduisons parce qu'il ne semble pas qu'elle ait toujours été bien comprise : « Un temps viendra qui fera dessécher, jaunir, flétrir votre fleur épanouie. J'en rirais bien alors, si ma mâchoire en était capable. Il n'en sera rien, hélas ! et ce serait folie de l'essayer. Je serai vieux ; vous serez laide, votre couleur partie. Buvez donc à grands traits, tant que court le ruisseau [1] ! N'allez pas affliger tout le monde en vous attardant à secourir un pauvre diable ! ».

Il n'est pas défendu de penser que Villon qui s'amuse dans les *Lais* à plaisanter ses amis et à narguer ses ennemis a surtout voulu expliquer à ses connaissances (et peut-être aux gens du Châtelet) pourquoi il s'en allait de Paris. Et s'il gardait par devers lui d'autres raisons moins faciles à avouer, nous ne suggérons nullement que celle qu'il donne ait été mensongère. Or il nous semble retrouver dans la Ballade a s'amye le même curieux mélange de franchise et de réticence. Il est sincère quand il se plaint de sa perfide, mais il est visible qu'il entend aussi nous faire savoir pourquoi il court les grandes routes de France. C'est un homme en fuite : il n'a pas trouvé d'autre moyen d'échapper à la cruelle qui a juré sa perte. A qui, vers 1457, contait-il cette belle histoire ? Il est douteux que la Ballade ait été envoyée alors à Rose elle-même : sans quoi il n'eût pas, cinq ans plus tard, chargé Pernet de la Barre de la lui remettre. Il s'agit d'elle, c'est d'elle qu'il se plaint, c'est à elle qu'il parle, mais la Ballade est pour le moment destinée à quelqu'un d'autre.

1. C'est là une première forme du « Cueillez votre jeunesse » de Ronsard.

Où chercher le nom de ce quelqu'un, sinon dans l'Envoi :

> Prince amoureux, des amans le greigneur,
> Vostre mal gré ne vouldroye encourir,
> Mais tout franc cuer doit pour Nostre Seigneur,
> Sans empirer, ung povre secourir. (v. 966-9).

Nous espérons montrer que ce « prince amoureux » ne peut être que Charles d'Orléans. Tout d'abord il ne faut pas croire que le mot « prince » soit le début obligatoire de tout « envoi » de ballade. Sept des ballades de Villon, sur 29 qui nous restent de lui, ne renferment à l'envoi ni ce mot ni aucun vocable analogue : ce sont la Ballade des Dames du temps jadis, la Double Ballade sur l'amour, la Ballade de la Grosse Margot, la Ballade de Mercy, et en dehors du *Testament* la Ballade de bon conseil, la Ballade des contre vérités, le Debat du Cuer et du Corps. Une huitième ballade, celle qui est écrite en « vieil langage françoys », introduit le mot « Princes », mais ce mot n'est pas ici un vocatif :

> *Princes* a mort sont destinez
> Et tous autres qui sont vivans. (v. 409-10).

Moyen ingénieux de tourner une règle qui n'est pourtant pas très gênante, puisqu'on la viole ailleurs sans scrupules.

Cinq autres ballades remplacent le mot « prince » par une désignation analogue : « princesse » (3 exemples) « filles », « Françoys ». Dans la Ballade a Nostre Dame la mère du poète termine sa prière par cette invocation :

> Vous portastes, digne Vierge, *princesse*,
> Jesus regnant qui n'a ne fin ne cesse. (v. 903-4).

L'envoi, qui porte en acrostiche le nom de Villon, ne pouvait commencer par un P ; de là le rejet du mot

« princesse » à la fin du vers. Robert d'Estouteville, chantant les louanges de sa femme, lui dit :

Princesse, oyez ce que cy vous resume. (v. 1402).

Dans la Double Ballade qui est insérée dans l'Épître à Marie d'Orléans, Villon commence ainsi l'envoi :

Princesse, ce loz je vous porte
Que sans vous je ne feusse rien. (VIII, 97-8).

La belle Heaulmière haranguant ses « escolières » les passe en revue une à une, puis s'adressant à toute la brigade elle leur dit dans l'envoi :

Filles, vueillez vous entremettre
D'escouter pourquoy pleure et crie. (*T.* 557-8).

Enfin, la Fortune, qui vient de morigéner le poète, s'écrie à la fin d'une longue ballade :

Pour ce, *Françoys*, escoute que te dis, (XII, v. 37)

et il est visible que « Françoys » est ici le pauvre « prince » à qui s'adressent les malédictions de l'inconstante déesse.

Ainsi, à s'en tenir à l'usage de Villon, le mot « prince » n'apparaît pas toujours dans l'envoi de la ballade, et il peut en d'autres circonstances être remplacé par un mot analogue. Ce qui est significatif, c'est qu'en ce dernier cas, nous venons de le voir, le vocatif désigne invariablement une personne ou des personnes précises. Ne peut-on pas s'attendre à un procédé semblable quand le mot « prince » lui-même apparaît ? Et en effet la Ballade Villon

Prince clement, or vous plaise sçavoir (VII, v. 31)

s'adresse, nous le savons, au duc d'Orléans; la Requeste a Mons. de Bourbon

Prince du lys, qui a tout bien complaist (IX, v. 31)

a été envoyée au duc Jean II. L'Epitaphe Villon invoque un seigneur plus puissant:

Prince Jhesus qui sur tous a maistrie. (XIV, v. 31).

L'Epistre a ses amis se termine par un envoi dont voici les deux premiers vers:

Princes nommez, ancïens, jouvenceaux,
Impetrez moy graces et royaulx seaux. (X, v. 31-2).

Il faut sans doute comprendre: « O vous, jeunes et vieux, qui vous nommez, ou qu'on nomme princes... » C'est une suite de la boutade:

Nobles hommes, francs de quart et de dix,
Qui ne tenez d'empereur ne de roy... (X. v. 22-3).

Peut-être aussi peut-on supposer que quand Villon écrit dans la Ballade de Louenge a la Court:

Prince, trois jours ne vueillez m'escondire, (XV, v. 31)

il pense au chef suprême de la « Court », au premier président du Parlement. En tout cas, il y a au moins trois cas assurés où le vocatif « prince », au lieu de nous renvoyer au souverain supposé d'un pui imaginaire, désigne des personnages très réels, deux seigneurs temporels et le roi des Cieux, sans compter un quatrième cas où le mot s'applique à un groupe de joyeux étudiants sacrés « princes » par la fantaisie de Villon.

Il n'est donc pas audacieux de chercher à mettre un nom sous le « prince » d'un « envoi » de Villon, surtout quand cet envoi présente une spirituelle requête qui ramène le refrain de la façon la plus imprévue:

Prince amoureux, des amans le greigneur,
Vostre mal gré ne vouldroye encourir,
Mais tout franc cuer doit pour Nostre Seigneur,
Sans empirer, ung povre secourir.

Il est visible que le poète invoque ici un protecteur éventuel. Nous savons que c'est un prince « amoureux », et c'est à ce titre que le pauvre fugitif, victime des rigueurs d'Amour, lui adresse sa prière. Cette épithète à elle toute seule ne nous donnerait pas la clef de l'énigme : le duc d'Orléans a été un prince amoureux, mais René d'Anjou aussi, et sans doute bien d'autres à la même époque. Heureusement pour nous, Villon a ajouté « le plus grand des amoureux », et cette fois tout s'éclaire. En 1457 Charles d'Orléans est le second personnage du royaume [1], mais il est certainement le premier des grands amoureux. Dès que la question est posée, nous ne croyons pas qu'on puisse la résoudre autrement. Il ne servirait de rien d'alléguer que la formule est vague et qu'il ne faut pas trop presser le sens. Il n'y a rien de vague dans la poésie de Villon, et son vers alerte est même d'une plénitude singulière. Qu'on veuille bien relire la Ballade a s'amye, qu'on tienne compte des circonstances où elle a été écrite : on verra avec quel soin chaque mot en est pesé, avec quel art les détails sont arrangés en vue de l'effet à produire. «Le plus grand des amoureux» ne saurait être un personnage en l'air : c'est celui que la France entière aurait alors salué du même titre. Charles d'Orléans était à peine de retour de sa longue captivité que Martin Le Franc, vers 1441 ou 1442, le cite comme un des amants fameux de son temps :

> Certes les amoureux liens
> Rendent sujet puissant et sage.
> Charles, le bon duc d'Orliens,
> Nous en peut donner tesmongnage...
> Si tu ne me crois, si enquier
> Le livre qu'il fit en Inglant [2].

1. Dès 1456 le dauphin Louis s'était réfugié dans les États du duc de Bourgogne.

2. Cité par Gaston Paris, *Romania*, 1887, p. 418.

Depuis lors, Charles d'Orléans avait ajouté bien des rondeaux et des ballades au « Livre de la Prison », et la cour de Blois était devenue comme le lieu de rendez-vous des bons rimeurs du temps qu'attirait la cordiale hospitalité de ce fin poète qui était en même temps le plus grand seigneur du royaume. En 1448 Olivier de la Marche, qui s'était présenté à lui comme ambassadeur, fut reçu de la façon la plus amicale, « et ce à cause qu'il [le duc] estoit moult bon rethoricien, et se delectoit tant en ses faicts comme es faicts d'autruy [1] ». Il se plaisait aux œuvres des autres! Voilà sans doute ce que n'ignorait pas Villon, non plus que personne en France à cette époque. C'est pourquoi, peu de temps après avoir quitté Paris, ayant écrit les *Lais* et se sentant très capable de faire mieux, il alla à son tour frapper à la porte du Château de Blois. La Ballade a s'amye est sa lettre d'introduction. Il est à croire qu'elle lui valut un accueil gracieux, et pour un temps au moins l'entrée de la cour. Peut-être l'Epître à Marie d'Orléans, que nous placerions alors en 1458, est-elle le remerciement, entortillé et un peu solennel, du poète reconnaissant. En tout cas la Ballade du Concours de Blois nous le montre établi dans l'entourage sinon dans la familiarité du duc. Et nous ne serions pas surpris que quelques-unes de ses ballades les mieux tournées — qu'il devait plus tard recueillir dans son *Testament* — aient été composées sous l'inspiration de cette cour lettrée et du prince aimable qui en était l'âme [2]. Comment la protection du duc fit-elle un jour défaut à Villon ? Pour-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 419.

2. C'est ce qu'on pouvait déjà soupçonner et ce que permet d'entrevoir plus clairement une publication récente, celle du Recueil du Cardinal de Rohan, aujourd'hui à Berlin (*Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan*, publié par Martin Löpelmann, Göttingen, 1923). Nous comptons revenir ailleurs sur cette question.

quoi le poète fut-il enfermé dans la prison de Meung ? C'est ce que nous ignorons. Mais il n'est pas indifférent de savoir que, dans ce *Testament* où il a fait entrer tant de souvenirs de sa vie passée, Villon n'a eu garde d'oublier son ancien protecteur, le bon duc d'Orléans [1].

1. Nous avons utilisé par avance les résultats de la présente étude dans un chapitre sur Villon qui fait partie de la *Littérature française* publiée sous la direction de MM. Joseph Bédier et Paul Hazard, 1923.

Mai 1923.

THE BIRTH OF BRANDUB SON OF EOCHAID AND OF AEDAN SON OF GABRAN

R. I. BEST

This tale has been edited and translated by Kuno Meyer (Zeitschr. f. Celt. Philologie, II, 134 ff.) from the 12 th century MS. Rawlinson B 502, fol. 47a (Facs. p. 81b 21) [R¹], where it is entitled, *Geįn Branduib meic Echach ocus Aedáin meic Gabráin*. The editor has added the variant readings of the acephalous fragment in Rawl, B 512, fol. 1. [R²], merely mentioning that « the same story is told, though not in the same words, in the Yellow Book of Lecan, p. 128a » [Y]. This latter is evidently the version alluded to in R¹, R² (ed. § 12) : « Others say that when Aedán was in Leinster he sent to Scotland for his mother, and that the two women told him how their kinship had happened, and how they exchanged their children, a boy and a girl, each of them ». In addition to these two prose recensions there is a third [R³] overlooked by Meyer at the time, but afterwards noted by him in his

Introduction to the Oxford Facsimile of Rawl. B 502, where it occurs on p. 86 a 7 (fol. 49 v°). It is a poem of 53 stanzas, beginning, « *Ro bátar laeich do Laigneib hic ol meda móraibnich* ». There were warriors of Leinster drinking mead in great streams.

Aedán, of whom frequent mention is made in the life of Columcille, was king of Alba or Scottish Dál Ríada. According to Reeves (Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, p. 436), it was he who laid the foundation of Scottish monarchy. At the Synod of Drumceat, to which he accompanied the saint in the first year of his reign, A. D. 575, he refused the status of a tributary king, and obtained formal recognition of his independent sovranty. He died in 606. In the genealogies he appears as the son of Gabrán († 560) son of Domongart, son of Fergus Mór, son of Erc († 474), son of Eochaid Muinremar; and in Rawl. B 502, Facs, p. 162c, his descendant Mael Coluim († 1034) is traced back through sixty-seven generations to Duach Ladcra (cp. BB 148 b 41). His mother was LLeian daughter of Brychan, a Briton (see Reeves, p. 436).

Notwithstanding, an attempt is made in this tale to attach him to the line of Catháir Mór of Leinster, his alleged father being Eochaid son of Muiredach Mór, son of Oengus, son of Fedelmid, son of Énna Cennselach, son of Labraid, son of Bressal Bélach († 435), son of Fiachu Baccid, son of Cathair.

The story is pure romance, and it is not easy to see how it could have been admitted into so early a MS. as Rawl. B 502 in the face of the pedigrees given there. The prose tale, both in R and Y, follows immediately upon that of the « Tragic Death of Niall of the Nine Hostages » [1], said to have been slain (A. D. 405)

1. Edited and translated by K. Meyer, from Rawl. B 502, fol. 47a (Facs. p. 81) with readings from YBL and BB in *Otia Merseiana*, II, 84-92, 1900.

by Eochu (or Eochaid) son of Énna Cennselach, whose subsequent death at the hands of Fergus Antoit in revenge for his father Niall, and his own death immediately afterwards at the hands of Boguine, king of Alba, is related in the Stowe MS. C I. 2 (R. I. A.) ed. Meyer, Arch. f. Celt. Lex., III, 323 f. After slaying Niall, Eochu takes refuge with Erc († 474) son of Eochu Muinremar, according to one version (Rawl.), with Eochu's son Loarn (born 434) according to another (BB), and with Gabrán († 560) according to YBL. These startling anachronisms have been noted by Meyer (*loc. cit.*, p. 85). Eochu son of Énna Cennselach could hardly have been the slayer of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who was the contemporary rather of his great-great-grandfather Fiachu Baccid, whose son Bressal Bélach died in 435, thirty years after the death of Niall. See the poem on Eochu, ed. Meyer, *Die aelteste Irische Dichtung*, II, 22 and cp. *ib.*, I, 15, 27. In the Y version of our tale Eochaid son of Énna Cennselach is the alleged father of Aedán and of Brandub, which is impossible; in R^1 it is his great-grand nephew Eochaid son of Muiredach (see *supra*). Brandub, king of Leinster († 605) and Aedán († 606) were contemporaries. Hence Keating, who reproduces the Y version of this romantic tale, felt in a difficulty, and thought it necessary to warn his readers « that the Brandub who was king of Leinster was not a son of this Eochaid son of Énna Cennselach, as will clearly appear in the second book of this history » (II, 411); accordingly later on (III, 114) he describes Brandub king of Leinster correctly as the son of Muiredach, etc.

As the poem in Rawl. B 502 (R^3) is too long to print here, it may be briefly summarized. After some preliminary references to the Connacht kings of the heroic period, the descent of Eochaid son of Muiredach is traced from Cathair Mór. It relates how he was

expelled over sea, and comes with his wife Feidelm to the *grianán* of Gabrán. The latter, who is grieved that his wife had not borne him sons, loves the king of the Liphi, and entreats him well. While they are absent on a hosting, their wives are brought to bed under the same roof and on the same night. Joyful is Eochaid's wife over her sons, sad is Gabrán's at the wailing of her daughters. Gabrán's wife offers a daughter to Eochaid's in exchange for a boy, telling her that they will both be the better for it, with a boy and a girl. The other consents, but as she hands over the boy inserts a grain of gold of the fierce Galls under his shoulder-blade. Meanwhile Gabrán returns from his hosting with captives and rich booty. He summons his druids to baptize the infants. The druid from Dún Inbeir (Arklow) pronounces the boys to be twins and the girls twins. Eochaid afterwards returns to his own country. Aedán grows up in ignorance of his real origin. But Gabrán's wife, about to die, weeps over her crime, and sending for Aedán tells him that Gabrán was only his fosterfather and she his fostermother, that his real mother was from Cruachu, of the race of Dá Thí, and that his father was Brandub's father, of the race of Catháir. On hearing this, Aedán sets out on a swift horse to hold speech with his kinsfolk. He comes into Leinster and makes his way over Druim Dilinne to the house of his mother Feidelm, and beseeches her to tell him the truth. This she does, and finds the grain of gold which she had placed under his shoulder-blade. All rejoice at the token and are satisfied.

The only substantial difference between the poem (R^3) and R^{1-2} is in the character of Aedán's visit to Ireland. In the latter he comes, not on the peaceful mission of ascertaining his parentage, but as an invader with a host of Scots, Britons, and Saxons, to contest the kingship of Ireland, which he claimed by descent

from Cairpre Rígfota. Here R^{1-2} follows Y. Only, that in Y there being no mention of the grain of gold concealed in his shoulder-blade, Aedán requires some corroboration of Feidelm's story, and sends over to Scotland for his alleged mother, who comes across and convinces him that he is not her son. The reference to the writing-style in R^{1-2} (omitted from the poem), into which the grain of gold perfectly fits, is in R^{1-2} sufficient proof to Aedán of his identity. The scribe of R^1 knew of the Y recension, as above-mentioned (p. 381), but was apparently unmindful of the divergence of R^3 which he had not then come to, four pages further on in his copy.

Further, in Y only one daughter is born to Gabrán's wife, there is consequently no exchange, but a gift.

To Keating the Y version no doubt seemed to have more of the semblance of history, and as it is his original, it seems not unworth while to print it here.

Dublin, March, 1923.

(YELLOW BOOK OF LECAN, col. 786. Facs. 128 a)

Buīseom intī Eochaid mac Enna Gensalaich īar sin i comaid Gabrāin. Bātar di*no* na dā mnaī i combuid. Ingenach bean Gabrāin, maccach [1] ben Echach. Assaitir a ndīs a n-ēnaithchi [2]. Berid ben Gabrāin ingin, berid [3] ben Echach dā mac. Na slūaig imon tech dā fhs an no bertha dond rīg, ō nā rucad mac dō rīam.

1. macccach MS.
2. chi *in ras.*
3. d *in ras.*

« Cid rucais ? » ar [1] ben Echach risin rīghain.

« Annī nāch andam lem », or sī, « ingin ; 7 tusu cid rucais ? ».

« Rucus annī ām nā ricim a leas .i. dā mac ».

« Tabair damsa indara n-aī ».

Dober di.

« Cid rucad ann sin ? » or cāch.

« Ordān 7 tacad do Gabrān, mac 7 ingen dō sunn ».

« Amra sin », or cāch.

« *Ocus* ben Echach ruc mac ».

Ro alta iar*om* i comaltus .i. Aedān mac Gabrān 7 Brandub mac Echach.

Doluid di*no* Eocho dia thīr 7 a mac leis. Coro gab sin rīg*h*i Laig*h*en intī Brandub. Ro gab di*no* Aedān rīgi nAlban.

Doluid side for slūagad i ndEri do chosn*um* rīg*h*i nErend, ar ba duthaich dō a lleith Gabrāin .i. Cairpri Rīgfota mac Conaire meic Eterscēoil a senathar.

Doluid ìar*om* Aedān 7 Saxain 7 Bretain leis 7 fir Alban tairis co taraid indred for Erind co toracht [2] Laig*h*niu.

« Gēill damsa ō [3] Brandub », or Oedān, « nō indred in tīri ».

« Maith », or a māthair fri Brandub. « Regadsa do guid*h*i chardine duidseo ō Aed*h*ān collēic ».

« Nochot aigillfe it*ir* », or Bran*n*dub.

« Maith », or sī [4].

Luid isin dūnad.

« Caidi sunn in tAedān ? » or sī. « Ordān 7 tocad duit a meic Gabrāin. Ba cōir dūn fāilti frit fo dāigin th' athar 7 do māthar ».

1. a *MS. with* ar ben Gabrain *wrongly added between cols. by a later hand* ; *read* ar, *which is translated.*

2. *final* t *subscr.*

3. o- *Ms. followed by erasure.*

4. sē *Ms.*, *leg.* sī *which is translated.*

« Can don chaillich? » or Aedān.

« Māthair Bran*n*duib », or cāch.

« Tairsiu for leith », or sī, « corot aicillirsa mad fiu lat agallaim chailligi ».

« Is cailleach mo māthair », or Aedān.

« In bēo? » or sī.

« Is bēo imm*orro* », or Oedān.

« Is āil dam cairdde frim mac don chur sa, 7 tabair dāig*h* for cairdesa ».

« Cīa cairdes ōn, a chaill*ech*? » or Oedān.

« Is dearbrāthair duit. Is misi do māthair ».

« Cindus arrīcht ōn? » ar Oedān.

« Is amlaid seo », ar in chaillech.

« Fīr », or sē, « nocho rega asin tīr sea co tora in c[h]ailleach aile dot acaillaimse[1], 7 nā cluinet cena fir Alban ūaidseo nā rom marbadsa ».

« Ba fīr sōn. Tīagaīd techta[2] ūad thairis fo chētōir. Co tānic in chaillech aili. Co comrāngadar imacallaim. Co tudchaid[3] Brandub isin dūnad.

« Rīgi Laigen ūaimse duit », or Brandub.

« Nathō », or Aed*h*ān. « Atā limsa nī monfiurfa. Imaithig*hid*h imm*orro* etraind ».

Ro baī tra imaithig*hid*h 7 imairchiseacht et*urr*u ōn ūair sin amach.

Gein Oedāin 7 Brannaib sin.

Finit

TRANSLATION

This Eochaid, son of Enna Cennselach, was after that[4] with Gabrán. Their two wives were also to-

1. *last* a *subscr.*
2. *add. above line.*
3. a *subscr.*
4. i. e. after slaying Niall of the Nine Hostages.

gether. Gabrán's wife had daughters [1], Eochaid's had sons. The two are delivered on the same night. Gabrán's wife bears a daughter. Eochaid's wife bears two sons. The hosts were around the house to know what would be born to the king, for no son had been born to him before.

« What hast thou brought forth? » said Eochaid's wife to the queen.

« That which is not rare with me », said she, « a daughter. And thou, what hast thou brought forth? ».

« I have brought forth that which I have no need of, namely two sons ».

« Give one of them to me ».

She gives it her.

« What has been born there? » said they all.

« Dignity and fortune to Gabrán, a son and a daughter to him here ».

« That is wonderful », said they all.

« And Eochaid's wife has borne a son ».

They were then brought up together in fostership, that is, Aedán son of Gabrán and Brandub son of Eochaid.

Thereafter Eochaid came to his own country, and his son along with him. And the latter, that is Brandub, took the kingship of Leinster. And Aedán took the kingship of Scotland.

The latter came on a hosting into Ireland to contest the kingship of Ireland, for it was his inheritance on the side of Gabrán, that is, of his ancestor [2] Cairpre Rígfota son of Conaire son of Eterscél.

Then Aedán came over, and Saxons and Britons

1. Meyer misrenders 'was pregnant with a girl' etc., and Keating, *Ingheanach a hainm* « Ingenach was her name ».

2. grandfather K. M.; but Aedán was twenty-six generations from Cairpre.

along with him, and the men of Scotland. And he laid Ireland waste until he came into Leinster.

« Let me have hostages from Brandub », said Aedán, « or the land shall be laid waste ».

« Good ! » said his mother to Brandub. « I shall go meanwhile to Aedán to beg an alliance with him for thee ».

« He will not speak to thee at all », said Brandub.

« Good ! » said she.

She went into the camp.

« Where is Aedán here? » said she. « Dignity and fortune to thee, O son of Gabrán. It were meet for us to welcome thee because of thy father and thy mother ».

« Whence comes the old woman? » said Aedán.

« Brandub's mother », said they all.

« Come apart », said she, « that I may speak with thee, if it be worth thy while to hold speech with an old woman ».

« My own mother is an old woman », said Aedán.

« Is she alive? » said she.

« She is indeed alive », said Aedán.

« I desire a truce for my son on this occasion, and do thou give it me because of your kinship ».

« What kinship is that, old woman? » said Aedán.

« He is thy brother, and I am thy mother ».

« How was that brought about? » said Aedán.

« Thuswise », said the old woman.

« Of a truth », said he, « thou shalt not go forth of this land until the other old woman come to speak with thee; and let not the men of Scotland hear this from thee lest they slay me ».

So it befell. Messengers go across from him at once. The other old woman came. They held speech together. Brandub came into the camp.

« The kingship of Leinster from me to thee », said Brandub.

« Nay », said Aedán. « I have something that will satisfy us both [1]. Let there be mutual visiting between us ».

There was mutual visiting and forbearance between them from that time forth.

That is the Birth of Aedán and of Brandub.

Finit.

1. *monfiurfa* = *immonfiurfa*, for meaning and examples, see Ir. Texte III, 279, 545.

MEDIAEVAL ACCOUNT OF ANTICHRIST

DOUGLAS HYDE

This unpublished story of Antichrist contained in the book of Lismore will be of interest to the student of Apocryphal Literature. It is probably largely founded upon Jewish tradition. Bousset in his book *Der Antichrist* has tried to show that the Jews had a fully-developed story or rather legend about Antichrist, which did not by any means coincide with the Christian conception of the monster who was to make his appearance in the latest age. The very material conception of him, as given in this Irish legend, reminds one of the mediaeval idea of the Devil as depicted by Albrecht Dürer. There is an allusion to our story in Atkinson's *Homilies from the Leabhar Breac* in the sermon on St. Michael, who, it is said, shall destroy Antichrist in the last days. Antichrist is there described as « a man who shall be born at the end of the world, his mother being his own sister ». It is also mentioned, as here, that Elias and Enoch will attack him, but they

shall be overcome by him. Then Michael shall slay him. There is an allusion to Michael and Antichrist in the *Félire of Oengus*, about 800, A. D., page CXXXIX of Stokes' edition.

La gleo fria dric ndalach
Diar Michel balc buadach
Arslig' Ancrist nirach
In mil slis-gel sluagach.

There is also a brief allusion to Antichrist and to Elias and Enoch in the life of St. Maignenn published by O'Grady in *Silva Gadelica*, vol. I, pp. 48-9.

Antichrist has no knees. It was a common belief that the Devil had no knees or that they were turned backwards. When the Devil asked St. Moling what he should do, and Moling suggests to make genuflection to God, the devil says, « I cannot bend forwards, for backwards are my knees »; « siar atait mo ghlúine » [1].

In the Life of St. Maignenn, St. Mochuda is made to ask, « When does the 'Roth Rámhach' or Rowing Wheel come prognosticating the perverter in Ireland? This is how Antichrist comes, as one that is mighty and wise, yet foolish, foolish towards God, yet wise to work out his own detriment [2]. » Unfortunately the text breaks off about here, but the story seems to connect the mysterious Roth Rámhach with the wheels which, according to our text, served Antichrist for feet.

The mention of Elias and Enoch is due to the belief that they were taken up into Paradise in their human bodies, in order, later on, to meet Antichrist and fight him. When the souls of the patriarchs and prophets had been redeemed from the state in which they were, by Christ's death, and conducted into heaven, we are

1. *Calendar of Oengus*, under June 17.
2. O' Grady's *Silva Gadelica*, vol. I, p. 48; vol. II, p. 49.

told in the *Leabhar Breac* [1] that they met « two tall and ancient men, rugged in aspect and rough withal », and they marvelled much to find two persons in their earthly bodies in Paradise before them, and enquired as to who they were; they were told that they were Elias and Enoch, and that God's providence had kept them to fight with Antichrist on his appearance « in the world's later age ».

As for Antichrist himself the general opinion seems to be that his name is derived from ἀντι « against », meaning an opposer of Christ, but it may also be taken to mean « one resembling Christ in appearance and power », as ἀντίθεος means « one who resembles a god » in Homer, and later ἀντιστράτηγος « a propraetor » ἀντεβασίλευς, « one who is king during an interregnum ». And this meaning seems to be in the mind of the author of this story when he says that Antichrist will raise people from the dead « in imitation of Christ ». I have not, discovered the original from which the following text was translated. It is probably lost.

Sgel Ainnte Crisd Annso.

Adubhairt an Tigh*er*na gurub ē in Diabal do thic*faid* a curp daena... Antec*risd* do ghēnad comart*a*da mōra isna poblaib *ocus* ad*éa*ra gurub é atā isin Tarngaire coitcinn riamh, ocus nī lēmhthar a rādh co tainic Cr*iosd* roime d'fhoiridhin an chine d*aenna*. Ocus adubhairt Eo*in* So*iscelaidhe* re h-Isa « A Thigh*er*na crēt in dealbh bhias ar in f*er* sin, co bhfācbhamais a thuara*as*(g)b*hal* scribhtha inn*us* co n-aitheontai hē as a mhignīmhaibh, ocus co na*ch* c*r*eitti dō ar n-a aithne ».

Adubhairt an Tigh*er*na gurab ó m*eir*dr*i*g do t*r*eibh

1. L. B. 226 a.

Daineil Bheithil, ocus co n-oilfidhi isin Carbuban, ocus gu m*beth'*na chomhnu*idh*i isin cathair re n-abarthar Besasta, ocus beit .ui. c*et* feadh a fad a chuirp ocus da .xxet fedh an a leithet, ocus ēn-shúil as a ēd*an* ocus ēn-clār aigdhe aigi, ocus a bhēl c*on*uic a ucht, ocus ni bheit fiacla uachtaracha 'na chinn, ocus ni bheit [1] glūine aigi, ocus beit buinn a chos comcruinn am*ail* roth cartach : ocus biaidh finnf*ad* dubh adhuathmar air ⁊ beit tri deth*aigh*i tein*e* as a s*r*oin ocus as a bhēl ag eirghi a n-aier mar lasracha teinntigi ocus ni tual*ang* n*ech* ar dom*han* a fholuch air. Ocus gach dui*ne* c*r*eidfis dō cuirfidh comhartha sc*r*ibhtha 'na ēdan le h-iarunn nderg ocus ni fhēdann nech ar bith in com*ur*tha sin d'fhol*ach* cu lā na *breithe*. Ocus an lucht nach c*r*eidenn dō, marb*aid* iat uili, ocus bit siat ar na togha ag Dia. Ocus dūiscfidh se na mairbh ar aithris Cr*ist*, ocus na p*ec*th*aig* thuict*er* ann sin : ocus benuidh na c*r*oinn as a fhrēmhaibh ocus cuirfidh a rēmha [2] a n-āirdi, ocus do bēra a tor*ad* t*r*e na rēmhaibh [3] tre cumh*achtai*bh an diab*ail*. Ocus impōid na s*r*otha anagh*aidh* āirdibh a n-aims*ir* an fhirsin. Muirbhfidh in m*ac* i*n* t-ath*air*, ocus in t-ath*air* in m*ac*, ocus in brath*air* in brath*air*, ocus ni bhia creidium nā ein*ech* in tan sin ann. Ocus sc*r*isfaidh na hecalsa ocus teithfit na sacairt, ocus ni bhia cuimhne aca ar thaisibh na naomh thai*n*ic rompa nā ar na h-ecalsaibh a rabhat*ar* na naei*mh*, ocus na mnā bias ag um*hal*oit ann ni bhia nāire acu ocus ni fholchait a nāire ná a ndēn*ocht*. Ocus in lā gheinfid [4] Ante-cri*sd* biaidh duine marbh in g*ach* ēin tigh fo ceatar haird*ibh* an domhu*in*, ocus na dhiaigh sin ticfait in da fhāid atā a niugh a P*ar*dus do chathugh*adh* ris, .ⁿ. Hely ocus Enoc, ocus beit da xxet

1. MS. *beith*.
2. fhrinha.
3. fhremhaibh.
4. Geinfid with a stroke over the d in MS.

ocus *tri cet* la ag cathu*ghadh* re cēle, ocus da eisi sin marb*aidh* sē iad araen isin Plati .ɫ. a palas cathrach Iarusal*em*, ocus bit tri lā ocus gu medhon lai marbh, ocus ni lēmha n*ech* ar bith a n-adhl*ac*ad ac egla Antecriosd. Ocus a medhon lai ai*nn*sei*n* eireochait 'na mbethaid a bhfiadhnusi na n-uili, ocus adēra sē riu « A Ely ocus a Enoc, ticid isin mbeth*aid* suth*ain festa* », ocus rachait siat-san suas an*n*si*n*, a fiadhn*uis*i na n-uili dhaine. Ocus ticfa tal*amh*-cumhscug*ad* ocus toran*n* mhōr teinntighi um na sl*uaghai*bh in tan sin, ocus gach uili duini bias fare Antecriosd loiscfider ocus murbh*fidher* iat tre cumhachta Dē. Ocus da eisi sin cuirfidh Dia uili*cu*mhac*ht*ach *cu*m slānuighthe na ndaeine Mich*el* arcaing*el* ocus a cl*aideb* nocht 'na lāimh, ocus m*ur*bhfidh d' aein bē*im* Antecriosd, or do-ni dhā rann de ó mhullach co talm*ain*. Ocus ni do scris Antecriosd b*eir* Mich*el* in builli-si *acht* d' impōd in do*main* a sdaid bhud f*err*. Ocus is ann sin impodis in uili P*a*dan*ach* ocus Iud*aidhe* ocus Chin*idhech* ar in creidim Catol*ac*a, ocus ni bhia *acht tri* bl*iadhna* co leith iar sin gu lā in Bhrātha. ɫ ca.

TRANSLATION

THE STORY OF ANTICHRIST, HERE

The Lord said that it is the Devil who will come in a human body, namely Antichrist to work great signs in the congregations, and he will say that it is he who has always been commonly prophesied about [1]; and nobody will venture to say that Christ came before him to succour the human race.

1. *Lit.* « who is ever in the common prophesying ».

And John the Evangelist said to Jesus, « Lord, what shape shall be on that man so that we may leave a description of him written, so that he may be recognized from his misdeeds, and so that no one may believe on him, he being recognized ». The Lord said that it is from a harlot of the tribe of Daniel of Bethel (?) [he should be] and that he would be reared in the Carbuban (sic) and that he would reside in the city which is called Besasta, and the length of his body shall be six hundred fathoms, and forty fathoms its breadth, and [he has] one eye protruding from [1] his forehead, and his face all one flat surface [2], and his mouth [reaching] down to his bosom, and there shall be no upper teeth in his head, and he shall have no knees, and the soles of his feet shall be round like the wheel of a cart, and there shall be horrible black hair on him, and there shall be three fiery fumes out of his nose and out of his mouth rising in the air, as it were flames of fire, and it is not possible for anyone in the world to hide from him. And everyone who shall believe on him, he shall put on his face a written mark with a red-hot iron, and nobody in the world is able to conceal that mark until the Day of Judgment. And those who do not believe on him, he slays them all, and they shall be chosen of God. And he shall awaken the dead in imitation of Christ, and the sinners are then made known (?) [3]. And he will pluck the trees up by [4] their roots and he will set the roots overhead and they will give their fruit out through their roots, by the powers of the Devil. And the streams shall turn [and run] against the heights in the time of that man. The son shall

1. *Lit.* « out of ».
2. *Lit.* « board ».
3. *Lit.* « are understood there » or « then ».
4. *Lit.* « out of ».

slay the father and the father the son, and the brother the brother, and there shall not be either religion or generosity existing at that time. And he will destroy the churches, and the priests shall flee, and they shall not remember the relics of the saints who came before them, or the churches in which the saints had been. And the women who shall be making submission there, they shall have no shame, and they shall not conceal their shame nor their nakedness. And on the day on which Antichrist shall be born there shall be a person dead in every single house throughout the four quarters of the world. And after that the two prophets shall come who are today in Paradise, to figh with him, namely Elias and Enoch, and they shall be two score and three hundred days fighting with one another, and after that he shall slay them both in the Plati (sic), that is in a palace of the city of Jerusalem. And they shall be three days and up to the middle of the [next] day dead, and no one will venture to bury them for fear of Antichrist. And then in the middle of the day they shall rise to life in the presence of all, and He shall say to them, « O Elias and Enoch, come ye henceforth into eternal life ». And they shall go up then [to heaven] in the presence of all the people. And there shall come an earthquake and a great noise of [thunder and] lightning round the hosts at that time, and every person who shall be along with Antichrist he shall be burnt and slain, through the power of God. And after that Almighty God shall send Michael the Archangel to heal the people, with his sword drawn [1] in his hand, and he shall slay Antichrist with one blow, for he shall make [2] two parts of him from the top of him to the ground. And it is not to destroy

1. *Lit.* « bare ».
2. *Lit.* « makes ».

Antichrist that Michael strikes that blow, but to convert the world to a better state. And it is then that every Pagan and Jew and Gentile shall turn to the Catholic faith, and there shall be only three years and a half after that to the day of Judgment, etc.

HOW THE DAGDA GOT HIS MAGIC STAFF

OSBORN BERGIN

In the famous tale of 'The Intoxication of the Ultonians' Medb's druid, Crom Deróil, looking from the rampart of Temair Luachra at the approaching Ulster host, sees in it a tall figure with nine men at either side of him. In his hand is a terrible iron staff with a rough end and a smooth end. 'This was his play and amusement : he puts the rough end on the heads of the nine, and slays them in a moment. He puts the smooth end on them, and revives them in the same time.' From the description Cú Ruí recognizes the great Dagda, son of Eithliu, the Good God of the Tuatha Dé Danann. 'To excite battle and fight he has mingled with the host this morning, and no one in the host sees him,' (*Mesca Ulad*, ed. Hennessy, p. 32). The following fragment of a tale apparently belonging to the mythological cycle tells how the Dagda got this magic staff.

The death of his son Cermait Milbél (Honeymouth)

is mentioned by Fland Manistrech, LL 11b4 = BB 35b20 :

Do-cer Cermait Milbél mas
la Lug mac Eithlenn amnas,
ic ét ma mnaí, mór in mod,
dia ros bréc in druí dósom.

'Cermait Milbél the fair fell by Lug son of Eithliu the fierce, through jealousy about his wife — great was the deed — when the druid decoyed them [1] to him'.

In Gilla Modutu's poem on famous women, Book of Lecan 198b47, we read of Lug's wife :

Englic Loga nar loit labra
mar thoit mac in Dagda daith

'Englic (wife) of Lug, who never broke his word, on whose account the swift Dagda's son fell.' The copy in the Book of Leinster has (137a32) the corrupt reading *m(áthai)r* for *mar thoit*. According to the prose tract in the Book of Lecan, 139d9 ff., Lug had two other wives, Bua and Nás, daughters of Rúadrí, king of the Britons; *cf.* Met. Dinds. iii pp. 40 and 48. In the note at the end of the fragment here edited the lady is called Buach, daughter of Dáire Donn; Buach may be a gen., used as nom., of the form Buí or Boí; see Rennes Dindshenchas § 20.

The poet Gofraidh Fionn O Dálaigh (d. 1385) in an elegy on his son Eóghan thus refers to the lost tale on the subject [2] :

Trúagh gan fhóirithin aga,
mar do bhí ag bás Chearmada,
arná ghuin do láimh Logha,
do mhuin áigh a iomghona.

1. *Or* 'her.'

2. I give the text of A .IV. 3 (R. I. A.), p. 680; the whole poem has been edited and translated by the Rev. L. Mckenna, S. J., in *The Irish Monthly*, Nov. 1919.

Comhrag do-chual[a] eitir Lugh
is Cearmat na gcleas lúthmhar :
Cearmat Milbhél bá marbh dhe
d'arm rinnghér mar an ringcne.

Rún an Daghda a ndiaidh a mheic
sgaradh lé hEirinn n-oirrdhreic ;
triall tar muir do labhradh leis,
go bfaghbhadh luibh a leighis.

Téid do thaisdiol an domhain,
fágbhuis Eirinn n-iorghalaigh,
gur chuir an Daghda dá dhíon
ar a mhuin damhna an deighríogh.

Cearmat le athair n-échtach
táinic sleamhain sláinchréachtach ;
mar bhláth na slat dá ghruaidh ghil,
dar lat ní fhuair a oighidh.

'Alas that he' — that is, Eóghan's father — 'has no relief such as there was at Cearmaid's death, when he had fallen by Lugh's hand through the fury of his smiting.

I have heard of the fight between Lugh and Cearmaid of the active feats ; Cearmaid Milbhél died by a sharp-pointed weapon like the *ringcne* [1].

The Daghdha's resolve after his son's death was to depart from famous Ireland ; he said he would go over the sea that he might find the herb to heal him.

He goes traversing the world, he left warlike Ireland, and to save him the Daghdha put on his back the young prince [2].

Cearmaid came back with his valiant father, smooth and healed of his wounds ; his bright cheek was like

1. rincne .i. ainm sleige, 'the name of a spear, CORM. 1127. *Cf.* KEAT. II, 4465, and *Ir. Gr. Tr.*, § 2, where this couplet is quoted.

2. *lit.* 'the material of the good king.'

the blossom on the bough; you would have thought that he had not died.'

The name *Cermait* in Late Mid. Irish becomes *Cermat*, *Cermad*, etc. cf. BB. 35b20, Ir. Gr. Tr. Ex. 30. This is a back-formation from the gen. *Cermata*. And the epithet *Milbél* is here corrupted to *Minbeoil*, 'of the little mouth.'

The text of this fragment is from the Yellow Book of Lecan, col. 789-90 (facs. p. 176). The writing is much worn in places. In deciphering it I have been helped by a rough transcript kindly given me by Dr. Best. I have disregarded a number of aspiration marks apparently added by a later hand.

'Aed Abaid Essa Ruaid misi .i. dagdia druidechta T*uath* De D*anann* 7 in Ruad Rofhessa 7 Eochaid Ollathair mo tri hanmanna.'

Ocus is amlaid ro bai-sium 7 mac dó aigi fora muin .i. Cermad Mi*n*beoil, 7 adrochairsium a comrag 7 a comlonn la Lug mac Cein la hairdri Erenn, do-chuaidh in Dagda a muinighin a fhessa 7 a fhireolais dus[1] in ticfad anam ina mac, conad airi sin tucad mir 7 tuis 7 lossa ma corp Cermada, 7 tuargaibsium Cermat fora muin, 7 siris an doman fa Ce*r*mut[2], 7 ro-siacht in doman mor soir.

Dorecmaingedar triar dósom ag imdecht na conairi 7 na sligead 7 seoid a n-athar accu. Fiarfaigid in Dagdai scela dib, 7 adubradar: 'Tri meic aenathar 7 aenmathar sind, 7 seoid ar n-athar acainn aga roind.'

'Cred agaib ?' bar in Dagdai.

'Lene 7 lorc 7 lumann,' bar iadsan.

'Cred na buada fuil*et* forro sin ?' bar in Dagdai.

'An lorg mór sa adchi,' ar se, 'cenn ailgen aqi 7 cenn ainbthean. Indara cend ag marbad na mbeo, 7 in cenn ele ag tathbeougud na marb.'

1. fhireol*us*iis (?) MS.
2. *perhaps* fa c*u*mut.

'Cred in lene 7 in lumann,' ar in Dagdai, '7 cred a mbuada ?'

'Ante gabus uime in lumann, a roga crotha 7 delba 7 denma, 7 a roga datha, gen bhes uime. In lene tra, gach cness imma ragha, gan cess gan galor do denum di.'

'Taile in lorg am laimsea,' bar in Dagdai. Ocus tucsad ar iasacht in lorg do, 7 ro fhuirmesdarsum in lorg fo tri orro, 7 adrocradar a triur laiss, 7 ro thuniusdar in cenn ailgen fora mac, 7 adracht na n*er*tlainti 7 forurim Cermad a laim for [a] aigid 7 adracht 7 ro sill for in triur marb ro boi ina fhadnaisi.

'Cuich in triur marb sa fil*et* at fiadnasi' ? ar Cerm*ad*.

'Triar dorala damsa,' bar in Dagdai. '7 seoid a n-athar a*cu* ga comroind. Tucsadar iasacht dun luirg damsa, 7 ro marbusa iad dun dara cind, 7 do thathbheoaiges tussu dun cind ele.'

'Dursan in gnim sin,' ar Cermad, 'in ni dia tainic mo bheoug*ud*sa gan a tathbeoug*ud*s*u*m de.'

Fuirmis in Dagda forrosan in luirg, 7 adractadar na n*er*tslainti [1] an triar brathar.

'Nach fedabair bar marbad,' ar se, 'do bar luirg fesin ?'

'Rofedamar,' ar siad, '7 ro imris baegal (?) oruind.'

'Agamsa ata eolus bar luirgi,' ar in Dagdai [2], '7 tugus bar tri hanm*ana* daib, 7 tabraidsi iasacht na luirgi damsa co hErind.'

'Cred is chuir *no* is tennta duinn fris immar luirg do thorachtain duinn ?'

'Grian 7 esga, muir 7 tir, acht co marb*ur*sa mo naimdi di 7 gu tathbeoaider [3] mu chairdi.' Ocus tuccad dosum iasacht na lu*irgi* fan co*m*a sin.

'Cindus roindfimid na da set fil againd ?' ar siat.

1. The last three letters illegible.
2. Last two letters illegible.
3. final letter illegible.

'Dias agaib fana sedaib 7 aenfer gan ni, nogo ria timchell *chu*gi.'

Is ann sin tucsom in luirg sin i nErind 7 a mac, 7 ro marb a naimdi di, 7 do thathbeo*aig* a chairdi, 7 do gabastair rigi nErenn a los na luirgi sin.

'Arai sin,' ar se. 'is mac dun Dagdai sin misi 7 gach a raibi do draidecht 7 d' fhisidecht aigi, ata agamsa, 7 gach ar fhogluim d'eolus ag an tsluag út, ata agamsa sin, 7 racaid misi leatsu, a macaim, do thoigi [1] in tsegaind [2] ut guro impaidher a ranna 7 a faebra,' *et reliqua*.

Buach ingen Dairi Duind, ben Loga meic Eithlenn, is ina gnais dochuaidh Cermad mac in Dagdai, conad inn ro marbad Cermad la Lug.

TRANSLATION

'I am Aed Abaid of Ess Rúaid, that is, the Good God of wizardry of the Túatha Dé Danann, and the Rúad Rofhessa [3], and Eochaid Ollathair are my three names.'

And thus he was, with Cermait Milbél, one of his sons, on his back, who had fallen in fight and combat by Lug, son of Cían, High King of Ireland. The Dagda betook himself to his knowledge and learning, and therefore frankincense and myrrh and herbs were put around the body of Cermait, and he lifted Cermait on his back, and bearing Cermait [4] he searched the world, and came to the great eastern world.

He met three men going the road and the way with

1. *read* shoigid.
2. *possibly* tslogaid.
3. Ruad rofessa .i. nomen don Dagdu, 'lord of vast knowledge, a name for the Dagdae,' Stokes, Bodleian Cormac.
4. *or* 'searched the world throughout,' reading *cumut*.

their father's treasures. The Dagda asked news of them, and they said: 'We are three sons of one father and mother, and we are sharing our father's treasures.'

'What have ye?' said the Dagda.

'A shirt and a staff and a cloak,' said they.

'What virtues have these?' said the Dagda.

'This great staff that thou seest,' said he, 'has a smooth end and a rough end. One end slays the living, and the other end brings the dead to life.'

'What are the shirt and the cloak,' said the Dagda, 'and what are their virtues?'

'He who puts on the cloak has any shape and form and figure and any colour he chooses, as long as he wears it. As for the shirt, grief or sickness can touch no skin that it shall cover.'

'Put the staff in my hand,' said the Dagda. And they lent him the staff, and he put the staff upon them thrice, and they fell by him, and he pressed (?) the smooth end upon his son, and he arose in strength and health. Cermait put his hand on his face, and rose up and looked at the three dead men that were before him.

'Who are these three dead men before thee?' said Cermait.

'Three that I met,' said the Dagda, 'sharing their father's treasures. They lent me the staff, and I slew them with one end, and I brought thee to life with the other end.'

'That is a sad deed,' said Cermait, 'that they should not be brought to life by that which caused me to live.'

The Dagda put the staff upon them, and the three brothers arose in health and strength.

'Know ye not that ye have been slain,' said he, 'with your own staff?'

'We know,' said they, 'and thou hast taken an unfair advantage of us.'

'I have knowledge of your staff,' said the Dagda, 'and I have given you your three lives, and do ye lend me the staff (to take) to Ireland.'

'What guarantees and bonds have we that our staff will come back to us?'

'Sun and moon, land and sea, provided that I slay my foes with it and bring my friends to life.' Under that condition a loan of the staff was given to him.

'How shall we share the treasures we have?' said they.

'Two of you with the treasures and one without any, until his turn come round.'

Then he brought that staff to Ireland, and his son, and with it he slew his foes and brought his friends to life, and he took the kingship of Ireland by means of that staff.

'Howbeit,' said he, 'I am a son of that Dagda, and all the wizardry and magic that he had, I have, and all the knowledge he learned from that host, I have it. And I will go with thee, youth, against that champion[1] (?) that I may turn his points and edges,' *et reliqua*.

Buach, daughter of Daire Donn, wife of Lug son of Eithliu, Cermait, the Dagda's son lay with her, wherefore Cermait was slain by Lug.

1. *Or perhaps* 'host.'

THE ALLEGED MATRIARCHY OF THE PICTS

J. FRASER

The view that the Picts had a peculiar law of succession is based on two pieces of evidence. One is a statement in Bede's version, *Hist. Eccl.* I, 1, of the settlement of the Picts in Scotland. On their way from Scythia the Picts first landed in Ireland. The Scots who were in possession objected and suggested that the strangers should make their home in Scotland, and agreed to provide them with wives on condition that « ubi res perveniret in dubium magis de feminea regum prosapia quam de masculina regem sibi eligerent ; quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse servatum ». The second is the list of Pictish kings which appears in slightly varying forms in the so-called Pictish Chronicle, Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, 1 ff. An examination of this document reveals « that there are numerous instances of brothers succeeding each other, but that in no one instance does a son succeed his father », Skede, *o. c.* ci. On this basis the legend of a peculiar Pictish custom rests. Cf.

Zimmer, *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, XV, 219 ff.

Some of the significance attached to the alleged existence of matriarchy among the Picts rested on the view that matriarchy was unknown among Indogermanic peoples. The Pictish law of succession could thus be utilised in discussing the question of the Pictish language. Even in recent works matriarchy is brought into relation with facts of a purely linguistic character, cf. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, ed. 3, 367, Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, 246, Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, 305, D'Arbois de Jubainville, *La Famille Celtique*, 88. It is, however, clear that this implies a conception of the relation of the character of a language to the people who may happen at a particular time to speak it that is entirely mistaken. It involves, moreover, another serious fallacy. It is evident that the term « matriarchy » can be, and is, used to indicate very different customs, for the sort of matriarchy that has been attributed to the Picts has very little resemblance to the matriarchy attributed to the Lydians. Classifications whether linguistic or ethnological, based only on loose definitions, cannot be helpful.

It will be well to dismiss for good the questions whether the Picts were or were not Indogermans (for there is not, and never was, an Indogermanic people in an ethnological sense) and whether they were matriarchal. With the material available there can be profitable discussion of only two questions : 1) Is the generally accepted interpretation of the passage from Bede and of the list of Pictish kings the correct one? and, 2) Was the Pictish law of succession peculiar to them? An affirmative answer to the first question does not exclude the possibility of holding that the Picts merely shared a custom common to other peoples

of western Europe. Cf. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *o. c.*, 88.

In the passage from Bede's History there are two distinct statements : 1) The Scots of Ireland agreed to give wives to the Picts on a certain condition ; 2) That condition was being fulfilled down to Bede's own time. What is the relation to each other of these two statements ? The former is clearly part of an antiquarian tradition, and there can be little doubt that the story of the compact « ut ubi res veniret in dubium magis de feminea regum prosapia quam de masculina regem sibi eligerent » is an attempt to explain a fact referred to in the second statement. All that we can infer from Bede is that succession through the female was allowed. Whatever may be the precise meaning of the phrase « ubi res veniret in dubium », it is quite certain that Bede does not imply that succession took place only through the female. Zimmer's insistence on the latter view seems to be based on the single instance of Talorg or Talorcen whose father « was undoubtedly Ainfrit son of Aethelfrit king of Northumbria », Skene, *o. c.*, cii. If this view were correct Bede's description of the facts, which were probably familiar to him, would be curiously misleading. On the other hand, the inventor of the tradition quoted by Bede evidently considered succession through the female to be abnormal.

The lists of Pictish kings offer matter for much speculation but all we are concerned with here is the question whether they contain any evidence in favour of the view that succession to the throne was exclusively through the female. There can be only one answer. In the list given by Skene, *o. c.*, 4 ff., there appears, p. 7, the entry : Onnist filius Urguist xxx regnavit. Onnist is succeeded by his brother Bredei after whom come Ciniod, Elpin, Drest and, twenty one years after

Onnist, Talorgen filius Onnist[1]. This is not quite conclusive for we cannot be certain that Talorgen's father was Onnist filius Urguist. A second series of entries, however, leaves no doubt. In the same list, p. 8, we have the successions Castantin filius Wrguist, Unuist filius Wrguist, Drest filius Constantini, Uven filius Unuist. There are, thus, certainly two, possibly three, cases where the son of a king succeeds to the throne.

It will be noticed that in the two cases which can be considered certain the son suceeds at one remove after his father. It is not necessary to suppose that there was a rule by which the brother took precedence over the son; but even if there were, such a rule could be explained without appealing to any vague system of matriarchy. There were, at one period, two, and, often, probably more than two, Pictish kingdoms, and it is possible that a law of succession similar to that familiar in the history of the Russian dukedoms was evolved.

The lists of Pictish kings, which show that succession of brothers was common and appear to show that the succession of sons was rare, should be interpreted in the light of Irish usage. Professor Mac Neill has shown in his paper on the Irish law of dynastic succession (*Celtic Ireland*, p. 114 ff), that the kingship in Ireland was elective and that eligibility for election was conditioned by inclusion in the *derbfine*, a family group comprising members of four generations. In other words, any male whose great-grandfather had been king was eligible for election. Such a system

1. It is difficult to understand Skene's stratement *o. c.* ci, that « in no case does the name borne by any of the sons appear among the names of the fathers ». A glance at the lists shows that several names are borne by both fathers and sons.

could very easily produce results that could be indicated by a list of kings like the Pictish. As MacNeill has pointed out, the system made possible the existence of more than one legitimate dynastic line. This, together with other circumstances, led to joint kingships. The frequent entry *N. et N. conregnaverunt* in the Pictish lists seems to point to similar conditions in Scotland. Further, under a system which allows a king to be succeeded by his nephew or grandson it is evident that in a list of kings' fathers such as the Pictish Chronicle gives the name of a king might not appear at all.

It is not argued that the Pictish law of succession was identical with the Irish, but only that it was similar in character. If, as is probable, the story quoted by Bede goes back to an Irish source, it may be inferred that a daughter's son was not, in Ireland, eligible for election as king. But the obscurity of the words « ubi res in dubium veniret » makes it difficult to be quite clear as to what the story is intended to emphasise. I venture to suggest that we should translate by « whenever a perplexing situation arose », and that the meaning of the whole passage is that when there was no descendant of a previous king on the male side within the requisite number of generations, then a descendant through a female might be elected. Thus if the *feminea prosapia* was represented by a grandson of a previous king through the daughter, and the *masculina prosapia* by a great-great-grandson on the male side, then (supposing, for the sake of the illustration, that grandsons only were eligible) the law of succession was to be maintained by the election of the former. Whatever the correct explanation may be, it is clear that the right of succession through the female cannot be regarded as anything more than a development of the right of inheritance through the fe-

male, and the latter was recognised in Ireland. Cf. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *o. c.*, 69 ff.

There is, then, nothing in the lists of Pictish kings to suggest that succession took place only through the female. There is, indeed proof that succession could (and, as is implied by Bede, normally did) take place through the male. There is, further, no evidence that the Picts had any custom in connection with the succession to the throne which differed generically from anything known elsewhere in Britain or Ireland. The main basis for the contention that the Picts represented an early stratum of the population of the British Islands in a sense in which the inhabitants of Ireland and the southern parts of Britain do not, is, thus, seen to be a very weak one.

CORRESPONDANCE

DE

KARL BARTSCH ET GASTON PARIS

DE 1865 A 1885

PUBLIÉE PAR

MARIO ROQUES

Première partie : 1865-1867.

Les lettres adressées à Gaston Paris et conservées par lui sont aujourd'hui déposées à la Bibliothèque Nationale ; l'on a pu y joindre déjà, en original ou en copie, des lettres de Gaston Paris à quelques-uns de ses amis, notamment à Curtius, Diez, Monod, Sully-Prudhomme, Taine. Depuis longtemps je m'efforce de réunir d'autres fragments de cette correspondance amicale ou scientifique [1] ; c'est ainsi que j'ai acquis en Allemagne, avant 1914, les lettres écrites par Gaston Paris à Karl Bartsch. Mme Gaston Paris m'avait, à la même époque, confié en vue d'une publication les lettres de Bartsch à Gaston Paris. Cette correspondance s'étend de 1865 à 1885. J'imprime ci-dessous les plus anciennes lettres échangées entre les deux savants philologues, de 1865 à 1867.

A l'époque où commence cette correspondance, Karl Bartsch, né le 25 février 1832, avait 33 ans ; Gaston Paris, né le 9 août 1839,

1. L'on me permettra de dire ici combien je serais reconnaissant à tous ceux qui, possédant des lettres de Gaston Paris, voudraient bien m'autoriser à en faire exécuter des copies qui iraient s'ajouter à la collection de la Bibliothèque nationale.

en avait 26. Bartsch était professeur à Rostock ; il avait déjà publié son *Altprovenzalisches Lesebuch* (1855), ses *Denkmäler der provenzalischen Literatur* (1856), l'édition de *Peire Vidal* (1857), et, dans le domaine germanique, son édition du *Stricker* (1857), ses *Mitteldeutsche Gedichte* (1860), son étude sur *Karl Meinet* (1861), l'édition de *Kudrun* (1865) et ses recherches sur les *Nibelungen* (1865), sans parler de nombreux articles dans le *Jahrbuch* de Ebert et la *Germania* de Pfeiffer. Gaston Paris, sorti en janvier 1862 de l'Ecole des chartes, s'était fait connaître par son étude sur le *Rôle de l'accent latin* (1862), sa traduction de l'*Introduction à la Grammaire des Langues romanes* de Diez, son analyse de la *Karlamagnus-Saga*, des articles sur *Huon de Bordeaux* (1861), la *Chanson de Roland* et les *Nibelungen* (1863), la philologie romane en Allemagne (1864), et divers comptes-rendus critiques [1] ; il venait de publier en 1865 ses deux thèses de doctorat : *De Pseudo-Turpino* et *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* ; il était entré en relations avec plusieurs philologues allemands pendant son séjour, de 1856 à 1858, à Bonn, auprès de Delius et de Diez, et à Göttingen, auprès de Th. Müller et de Curtius.

I

Paris, ce 21 novembre 1865.

Monsieur,

Vous avez sans doute entre les mains, à l'heure qu'il est, mon *Charlemagne* [2]. Puisse-t-il vous satisfaire ! c'est ce que j'ambitionne le plus. Vous verrez combien je me suis servi de vos travaux, et vous me pardonnerez de vous avoir contredit quelquefois. J'ose espérer que vous voudrez bien rendre compte de mon livre dans le

1. Il avait notamment envoyé au rédacteur du *Jahrbuch* (voir p. 415, n. 2) quatre lettres sur le mouvement littéraire en France en 1858, 1859, 1860 et 1861, qu'Ebert avait publiées aux tomes I, III et IV de sa Revue.

2. *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* ; Paris, A. Franck, 1865 ; in-8, XVII-513 p. Bartsch y était cité à plusieurs reprises en termes élogieux (v. p. ex. p. 128) à propos de son étude sur *Karl Meinet*.

Centralblatt[1] (M. Lemcke s'en charge dans le *Jahrbuch*[2]); je m'attends à trouver dans votre article de

1. *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland*, hgg. v. Friedrich Zarncke, Leipzig.— Le compte-rendu de l'*Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, paru dans le n° du 23 février 1867, col. 240-243, n'est pas de Bartsch; il est signé L....e, c'est-à-dire Lemcke.

2. *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, fondé en 1859 par F. Wolf et A. Ebert, Berlin, puis Leipzig. — Dans l'annonce de leur revue, en octobre 1858, les fondateurs disaient :

« So soll unsre Zeitschrift bestrebt sein, das Centralorgan der Geschichte der romanischen und englischen Literatur überhaupt zu werden. Sie wird auf ihrem Gebiete die stete Vermittlerin der deutschen und der ausländischen Wissenschaft sein. Den Ausländern ist es erlaubt, ihre Arbeiten französisch zu veröffentlichen : theilt Frankreich doch heute mit Deutschland den Ruhm eines universellen wissenschaftlichen Strebens. So werden denn hier zum ersten Male die Sprachen der beiden Nationen, welche um die Bildung der Welt vor allen andern sich verdient gemacht haben, brüderlich vereint als Organ der Wissenschaft erscheinen, der Wissenschaft, welche, selbst über allen nationalen Gegensätzen erhaben, nur die wechselseitigen Sympathien der Nationen vermehrt. »

Les érudits français répondirent à cet appel. Dès le premier volume, nous trouvons parmi les collaborateurs Edelestand du Méril, Paulin Paris, Alexandre Peÿ et Gaston Paris lui-même, puis Brunet, Chassang, Paul Meyer, etc. Paul Meyer et Gaston Paris continuaient encore leur collaboration au tome XI, en 1870. Le *Jahrbuch* fut interrompu de 1872 à 1873, il reprit pour une courte période de 1874 à 1876, et en 1874 (XIII, 118) Lemcke, professeur à Marburg, qui le dirigeait depuis 1865, annonçait en termes chaleureux l'achèvement du premier volume de la *Romania* (« gereicht es uns zu aufrichtiger Freude, die Vollendung des ersten Jahrganges der oben rubricirten Zeitschrift anzeigen zu können »).

Le compte-rendu de l'*Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* fut fait dans le *Jahrbuch* en 1866 (VII, 85-103), non pas par Lemcke, mais par A. Ebert. Le début en est intéressant à citer : « Die beiden vorstehenden Publicationen [*Charlemagne* et *De Pseudo-Turpino*] sind ein beredtes Zeugniss davon, wie viel die Vereinigung, deutscher mit französischer Wissenschaft — eine Vereinigung deren Förderung unser Jahrbuch von Beginn an

justes et profitables critiques [1].

Surtout, je vous en prie, ne me ménagez pas. La critique ne peut servir à quelque chose que si elle est sévère, et dégagée de toutes considérations personnelles. C'est avec cette idée que nous fondons la *Revue Critique* [2], dont vous avez sans doute reçu l'invitation.

zu einem seiner Hauptziele sich gesetzt hatte — auf dem Felde der Literaturgeschichte zu erreichen vermag. Der Verfasser, den Lesern dieser Zeitschrift schon lange als einer ihrer frühesten Mitarbeiter bekannt, durch seine Schrift über den Einflufs des Accents auf die französische Wortbildung als einer der tüchtigsten Schüler von Diez auf philologischen Gebiete anerkannt, hat durch die beiden vorliegenden Arbeiten, die sich durch Strenge der Methode, durch Tiefe und Umfang der Forschung sowie durch umfassende Gesichtspunkte wahrhaft auszeichnen, und so manche neue und wichtige Resultate erzielt haben, nicht blofs sich den pariser Doctorhut, sondern vielmehr eine bleibende Stelle in der literaturgeschichtlichen Wissenschaft errungen. »

1. Le compte-rendu de Bartsch, daté de décembre [1865], parut dans la *Germania, Vierteljahrsschrift für deutsche Alterthumskunde* hgg. v. Franz Pfeiffer, XI (1866), p. 224-229. En voici le début :

« Eine sehr gediegene in streng wissenschaftlichen Sinne gehaltene Arbeit, mit jener philologischen Akribie, die die Werke der jetzigen französischen Gelehrten von der Art und Weise, die früher in Frankreich bei litterarischen und historischen Arbeiten üblich war, zu unterscheiden pflegt. »

2. *Revue critique d'Histoire et de Littérature publiée sous la direction de* P. Meyer, Ch. Morel, G. Paris, H. Zotenberg ; Paris, Franck, 1866. — Dans la circulaire annonçant la fondation de la *Revue,* les fondateurs disaient : « Le premier point, celui auquel nous tenons le plus, c'est l'abstention complète de toute personnalité ; le livre seul est l'objet de la critique, l'auteur pour elle n'existe pas ». Et au début de la deuxième année de la Revue (II, 1, p. 2), ils disaient encore : « On a trouvé nos appréciations en général trop sévères. Disons-le tout d'abord : nous n'avons pas fondé un nouveau périodique pour nous rendre agréables aux lecteurs, ni pour faire de réclame aux libraires. A ceux qui considèrent l'éloge comme la partie essentielle d'un compte-rendu, nous n'avons rien à dire, sinon que la *Revue critique* n'est pas leur fait. »

Nous serions bien heureux de vous compter parmi nos collaborateurs ; vos articles, sitôt parvenus ici, seraient traduits avec soin et insérés sans délai [1].

Vous trouverez probablement dans le prochain numéro du *Jahrbuch* une petite pièce que j'y ai publiée [2]; elle vous intéressera, surtout si vous faites la *Chrestomathie* dont Meyer [3] m'a parlé dans le temps ; ce petit poème me paraît mériter d'y entrer [4].

Croyez, Monsieur, aux sentiments de haute considération avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être

Votre très obéissant serviteur,

GASTON PARIS,
44, rue du Cherche-Midi.

II

6. Marz 1866.

Mon cher ami,

Wenn es Ihnen möglich ist morgen (Mittwoch) auf

1. Bartsch collabora en effet régulièrement à la *Revue critique* qui imprima de lui, dès 1866, cinq articles.

2. *Fragment d'un petit poème dévot du commencement du* XIIe *siècle* (*Jahrbuch*, VI, 362-369). C'est le poème *Quant li solleiz converset en leon*. Ce poème entra en effet dans la *Chrestomathie* de Bartsch, mais seulement à la quatrième édition (1880), col. 61, d'après une collation de Foerster.

3. Paul Meyer (1840-1917) ; sur sa collaboration avec les philologues allemands, cf. p. 415, n. 2.

4. La *Chrestomathie de l'ancien Français,* VIIIe-XVe *siècles, accompagnée d'une grammaire et d'un glossaire,* de Karl Bartsch, dont il sera fréquemment question dans les lettres suivantes, parut à Leipzig, chez Vogel, en 1866.

die Bibliothek oder um 4 Uhr zu Vieweg [1] zu kommen, so thun Sie mir einen groszen Gefallen. Ich habe gestern Sie ersuchen wollen, heute zu kommen, aber ich vergasz es und als ich zu Franck kam, waren Sie nicht mehr da. Ich werde in jedem Falle bis 2 Uhr auf der Bibliothek sein, und wenn Sie bis dahin nicht kommen, um 4 Uhr zu Franck gehen.

Mit freundlichem Grusze

der Ihrige
K. Bartsch.

III

Rostock, 23. Mai 1866.

Lieber Freund,

Indem ich Ihnen inliegend den Abrisz der altfranzösischen Formenlehre [2] übersende, habe ich zunächst die Bitte hinzuzufügen, dasz Sie sich, so bald als es Ihre Zeit erlaubt, an die Übersetzung machen möchten. Viel Mühe wird es Ihnen hoffentlich nicht machen. Wegen der grammatischen *termini technici* bemerke ich, dasz ich am liebsten die lateinischen (z. B. für die Tempora des Verbums) beibehalten möchte. Die Citate, die auszer der Zahl noch eine andere Bezeichnung haben (Percif. etc.) sind nach dem Ms. gemacht,

1. Il s'agit de la librairie Brockhaus et Avenarius, puis A. Franck, 67, rue Richelieu, en face de la Bibliothèque Nationale (alors Impériale), dont le propriétaire était, en 1866, F. Vieweg, et qui passa successivement aux mains de E. Bouillon et E. Vieweg, gendre et fils de F. Vieweg, puis à E. Bouillon seul, puis à sa veuve, et dont le fonds fut enfin racheté par Honoré Champion ; cf. *Romania*, XVII, 633, et XXXV, 148 ; c'est F. Vieweg qui eut le mérite d'entreprendre la publication de la *Revue critique* et de la *Romania*.

2. Il s'agit ici de la rédaction allemande du tableau des flexions de l'ancien français qui accompagne la *Chrestomathie* de Bartsch.

weil der Druck noch nicht so weit vorgeschritten ist; diese laszen Sie unverändert, ich werde sie bei der Correctur umschreiben. Sie werden sich über die Kürze dieses Abriszes wundern; aber ich bin mit dem Raume sehr beschränkt und ich glaube, dasz für den vorliegenden Zweck Kürze ein Vorzug ist. Ich habe daher auf die Lautlehre ganz verzichtet und demgemäsz auch auf eine Sonderung der Dialekte, die ohne dies auf Grund des geringen Materials im Lesebuche nicht vollständig geworden wäre.

Sie haben wohl die Gefälligkeit, das Ms., in derselben Weise verpackt, mir franco zu senden; die Portoauslagen wird Ihnen selbstverständlich der Verleger ersetzen.

Mit meiner Anzeige Ihres Charlemagne [1] werden Sie hoffentlich nicht umzufrieden sein.

Haben Sie alle Aushängebogen der Chrestomathie erhalten? Ich habe die ersten 4 doppelt; sollten diese Ihnen fehlen, so schreiben Sie es mir. Leider sind ohne meine Schuld einige Druckfehler hineingekommen.

Ich denke noch oft an die schönen Tage in Paris und wünschte mir bald eine Wiederholung derselben. Hier ist es noch kalt und winterlich; vor einer halben Stunde hatten wir Schnee.

Darf ich Sie bitten, Ihrem Herrn Vater einen Grusz zu bestellen?

In der Hoffnung, bald von Ihnen zu hören, bin ich mit freundlichem Grusze

Ihr

ergebener

K. Bartsch.

Mit groszem Interesse habe ich Ihren Artikel über

1. V. p. 416, n. 1.

Bujeaud in Nr. 19. der Revue Critique gelesen [1]; ich dachte dabei lebhaft an unser Gespräch im Grand-Café [2] am 16. März.

[En marge de la 1re page, et en travers de la marge :]

Sie haben doch meine Ausgabe des Nibelungenliedes [3] erhalten; ich schickte sie direkt *sous bande*.

IV

[*6 juillet 1866.*]

[Cette lettre, sans date ni en-tête fait suite à une liste d'une page et demie de corrections au Glossaire de la *Chrestomathie* de Bartsch].

Vous verrez par les lacunes que je n'ai pas reçu toutes les feuilles de votre livre; je n'ai que 5-24, et encore n'ai-je reçu les cinq dernières qu'aujourd'hui 6 juil., ce qui m'a fait recommencer ce glossaire, écrit hier, et où la moitié des mots manquaient. Le texte du Combat des trente bretons est tellement mauvais qu'aucun des mots douteux qui s'y trouvent ne doit être admis comme réel. — Votre lettre m'est arrivée pendant que j'étais à la campagne, ce qui me fera pardonner mon retard. J'ai tant à faire que j'ai à peine lu les

1. *Chants et Chansons populaires des Provinces de l'Ouest..... Poitou, Saintonge et Angoumois..... recueillis par* Jérôme Bujeaud; Niort, 1866. Le compte-rendu de Gaston Paris a paru dans la *Revue critique*, 1re année (1866), 1er semestre, p. 302-312 ; c'est le bel article où Gaston Paris a mis en lumière l'intérêt des chansons populaires et a étudié les versions de la *Chanson de Jean Renaud*.

2. Le *Grand Café*, aujourd'hui disparu, se trouvait au coin de la rue Scribe et du boulevard de la Madeleine.

3. *Das Nibelungenlied*, édité par K. Bartsch dans la collection des *Deutsche Classiker des Mittelalters* de Pfeiffer, 1866.

feuilles que j'ai reçues ; j'ai cru y voir plus d'une petite faute : je reprendrai cet examen en détail. Je vous avoue que je crains beaucoup ce que vous entreprenez pour le dictionnaire ; s'il était temps encore, je m'en chargerais *très-volontiers*, et je vous promets de ne pas vous faire attendre; je crois que cela vaudrait mieux. Envoyez-moi seulement l'épreuve ; j'y ferai les corrections nécessaires. Je désire aussi revoir l'épreuve de la grammaire et de la préface ; le français qu'on imprime en Allemagne a besoin d'être revu ; puis la ponctuation est autre, etc [1]. Je ne vous ai pas écrit depuis votre départ, mon cher ami, et je me le reproche; mais ma bonne volonté est toujours la dupe de ma paresse. J'aurais cependant bien voulu vous dire quelque chose de la très-grande sympathie que vous m'avez inspirée et de l'espoir que j'ai que notre amitié sera réelle et durable ; mais vous parler de cela après ma négligence, c'est risquer de ne pas être cru. Je vous assure que je vous plains bien d'assister au cruel spectacle que donne votre patrie ; moi qui ne suis pas allemand, j'en suis ému jusqu'au fond du cœur. Voilà un rayon de paix depuis hier : sera-t-il durable? Si au moins quelque chose d'honnête et de solide pouvait sortir de là ! mais à voir les gens qui mènent les affaires, on est bien tenté d'en douter [2]. J'avais l'intention bien arrêtée d'aller faire un voyage

1. Voici ce que disait Bartsch dans la préface de la première édition de sa *Chrestomathie* au sujet de la collaboration de Gaston Paris : « La grammaire et les notes ont été mises en français par mon ami M. Gaston Paris ; je ne pouvais lui demander le travail considérable qu'exigeait le glossaire : je n'ai fait que le consulter sur quelques points où je doutais. Je prie donc les lecteurs français de m'excuser si, dans cette partie de l'ouvrage, ils ne trouvent pas toujours l'expression allemande rendue par la nuance française correspondante. »

2. Gaston Paris pense sans doute d'une part aux conflits violents, et même sanglants, entre la Prusse et les Etats de la Con-

en Allemagne au mois de septembre, et je me serais arrangé pour vous voir ; mais maintenant comment faire des projets ? Ecrivez-moi toujours où vous serez à cette époque : j'aurais eu bien du plaisir à aller vous voir chez vous ; mais dans un tel moment est-on le bien-venu chez un hôte, quelque aimable qu'il soit ? — Enfin, je ferai mon possible pour vous serrer la main cet automne ; en attendant je vous la tends de loin.

G. Paris.

J'allais oublier de vous remercier de votre excellent article [1], qui m'a cependant bien fait plaisir. Votre approbation est, *de toutes*, celle qui a le plus de prix pour moi. Quant aux corrections, je les accepte à peu près toutes.

Je vous engage bien, dans la grammaire [2], à mettre part. prés. au lieu de gérondif, et à faire du conditionnel soit un temps de l'indicatif, soit un mode à part. A quel titre rentre-t-il dans le subjonctif ? Il ne lui appartient ni par le sens, ni par l'origine, ni par la forme.

V

Avenay, [3] *ce 31 août 1866.*

Mon cher ami,

Après bien des hésitations et tergiversations, je suis

fédération germanique qui ne voulaient pas se laisser entraîner dans la guerre avec l'Autriche et se soumettre à la politique bismarckienne, et d'autre part à la nouvelle publiée par les journaux parisiens du 5 juillet d'après laquelle l'empereur d'Autriche avait accepté la médiation proposée par Napoléon III entre l'Autriche et la Prusse.

1. V. p. 416, n. 1.

2. V. p. 418, n. 1.

3. C'est le lieu de naissance de Gaston Paris où il revint pendant longtemps à l'époque des vacances.

enfin décidé à aller en Allemagne. Vous y verrai-je? Là est le point. Il me sera bien difficile, pour ne pas dire imposible, d'aller vous relancer jusqu'à votre Rostock ; mais y passerez-vous toutes les vacances, et ne trouverons-nous pas moyen de nous voir quelque part? Je serai le 14 à Berlin, où je passerai quatre à cinq jours ; de là j'irai à Göttingen, puis en Saxe : voilà mon itinéraire. Tâchez d'arranger un rendez-vous quelque part ; je serais désolé de ne pas vous voir. Répondez-moi, je vous prie, sans retard ce que vous pourrez faire ; je prendrai mes mesures en conséquence.

La façon prompte dont la guerre s'est terminée vous aura, je pense, satisfait ; mais que dites-vous de la manière dont la paix s'organise? Il est évident que nous n'avons vu jouer que la première manche ; tout est disposé pour recommencer d'ici à un temps plus ou moins long. On prétend ici que notre gouvernement est fort désappointé, que les choses ont été tout autrement qu'il ne le prévoyait, et qu'il est très-disposé à prendre une revanche. Puissions-nous ne pas voir pareille chose ! ce serait un des plus grands malheurs qui pourraient arriver [1].

Vous verrez dans un des prochains numéros de la *Revue critique* mon article sur les Nibelungen [2] : j'espère qu'il vous satisfera. Mon incompétence me con-

1. Un armistice avait été conclu entre la Prusse et l'Autriche le 26 juillet, un traité avait été signé à Prague le 23 août, et vers la fin du mois les journaux annonçaient la ratification du traité ; mais en même temps des polémiques très vives s'élevaient dans les journaux français au sujet des questions qui restaient à régler entre la Prusse et les Etats allemands d'une part, entre l'Autriche et l'Italie de l'autre, et au sujet de l'attitude que devait prendre la France de ces deux côtés.

2. Le compte-rendu par Gaston Paris de l'édition des *Nibelungen* de Bartsch parut dans le 2e semestre de la 1re année de la *Revue critique*, p. 183-89.

damnait naturellement au rôle de rapporteur ; j'ai cherché à faire comprendre en peu de mots aux Français l'histoire de la question et la méthode que vous appliquez ; je pense l'avoir fait clairement dans le peu d'espace dont je disposais. Je sais que vous avez envoyé votre article sur les *Eddas* [1]. Morel doit le traduire, vu mon absence de Paris ; mais j'en reverrai l'épreuve.

Avez-vous reçu le livre de Gautier [2] ? Je serai curieux de voir votre article. Je vais engager avec lui une sorte de polémique dans la Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, mais sur un tout autre sujet. Il a fait des travaux sur la versification latine du moyen-âge, dans laquelle il n'accorde aucune place à l'accent. En étudiant les textes pour combattre ses idées, j'ai trouvé un certain nombre de lois très-curieuses de cette versification, que j'ai rassemblées dans une *Lettre à M. Léon Gautier*, etc., qui paraîtra dans le prochain numéro de la *Bibliothèque* [3]. Ce qui m'inquiète, c'est que je ne sais pas au juste si ce que je dis est nouveau : je l'ai trouvé tout seul, mais cela ne signifie rien : ne l'a-t-on pas dit avant moi ? En France, je sais que non ; mais il me semble qu'en Allemagne on a dû trouver tout cela il y a longtemps : cependant je n'en vois que bien peu de chose dans le livre de Wolf *Ueber die Lais* [4]. Si je vous vois, nous en causerons ; car vous êtes certainement au courant. Je vous dirai même que c'est vous qui êtes

1. Il s'agit du compte-rendu par Bartsch de l'ouvrage de E. de Laveleye : *La Saga des Nibelungen dans les Eddas et dans le Nord Scandinave*; Paris, 1866. Ce compte-rendu fut imprimé dans la *Revue critique* (I, 2, 200).

2. Léon Gautier, *Les Epopées françaises*, tome I.

3. *Lettre à M. Léon Gautier sur la versification latine rythmique, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes*, 27e année (1866), p. 578-610 : tirage à part la même année chez Franck.

4. F. Wolf, *Ueber die Lais, Sequenzen und Leiche* ; Heidelberg, 1841.

indirectement la cause de mes recherches là-dessus. Dans votre article sur mon *Accent latin* [1], vous disiez que j'avais eu tort de voir dans des rimes comme *bis : veneris*, *garni : Domini* la preuve que l'accent latin était effacé au XII^e^ siècle ; que ces mots étaient des proparoxytons équivalant à des oxytons. Cette remarque me frappa, et c'est de là que j'ai tiré toutes les conséquences que vous verrez, dont la plus évidente est que la versification latine rhythmique repose sur l'entrelacement des rimes ou chutes *masculines* (proparoxytons équivalant à des oxytons) et *féminines*, ou *klingend* et *stumpf*, comme vous dites. Mais où preniez-vous cette remarque elle-même, que je n'ai rencontrée nulle part ailleurs?

Je vous dirai qu'il me vient une occupation considérable en même temps qu'une bonne position. Mon père est fatigué de son cours au Collège de France, qui l'absorbe et l'empêche de faire d'autres travaux, et je vais probablement devenir son suppléant à partir de cet hiver [2]. J'ai le projet de faire (sur mes deux leçons par semaine) une leçon toute grammaticale, et pour cela je me propose de prendre comme base votre *Chrestomathie*, qui sera certainement publiée au mois de novembre. Vous voyez que voilà une nouvelle chance de vente, qu'elle n'aurait pas eue sans la traduction.

1. Le compte-rendu de l'*Étude sur le rôle de l'accent latin* a été imprimé dans le *Literarisches Centralblatt* de 1862, n° 41, 11 octobre, col. 896-897, mais il n'est pas signé ; l'étude de l'ouvrage de Gaston Paris y est présentée comme « eine willkommene Erscheinung, weil es ein Zeichen ist, dasz sich in Frankreich die wissenschaftliche Methode auf dem romanischen Gebiete mehr und mehr Bahn bricht ».

2. Gaston Paris suppléa en effet Paulin Paris dans sa chaire au Collège de France en 1866 et 1867, puis en 1869, 1870 et 1871 ; il le remplaça comme titulaire en 1872 ; en 1895 il devenait administrateur du Collège de France.

J'en ai actuellement sous les yeux tout ce qui a paru jusqu'à la col. 570 (au mot *essart* du Glossaire). Ce Glossaire a surpassé mon attente ; je n'ai fait, il est vrai, que le parcourir, mais je puis vous dire en général que l'expression française en est très-bonne. J'ai remarqué cependant quelques erreurs, sans compter, naturellement, plusieurs points sujets à discussion. Je regrette que vous ayez maintenu des mots comme *celé*, *cornair*, *egresillons* [1], qui sont, comme je vous l'avais dit, surtout le dernier, des fautes de lecture et non des mots. Je doute du mot *acroc*, *acroce* dans le vers cité pouvant aussi bien être un verbe. — Je doute très-fort d'*akeuse* ; je crois qu'il faut *la keuse*, la cosse, disons-nous actuellement. — *Arvol* n'est pas *embrasure*, si je ne me trompe, mais *arcade*. — *Asserisié* ne veut pas dire satisfait, mais apaisé, *accoisié* ; j'ignore si *befriedigt* se prend dans ce sens, mais *satisfait* ne l'a jamais. — *Clas* = *clef* me semble impossible ; le mot est obscur, mais j'y verrais plutôt un synonyme de *glas*. — *Kraus*, *cresp*, ne se dit pas en français *crispé*, qui a un autre sens, mais *crépu* ou *frisé*. — *Deavée* est bien probablement une faute pour *desvée* : d'où viendrait-il? — Je ne crois pas à *ensendre* = incendere ; il faut sans doute lire *s'en sent* au passage cité. — *Esne* ne veut pas dire *cuve*, mais *grain de raisin foulé au pressoir* ; on l'emploie encore en Champagne dans ce sens, *aines*, *aisnes* (les) ; il vient, je pense, d'*acinus* [2]. — Voici maintenant deux ou trois fautes plus graves, qui me sembleraient mériter d'être redressées à l'*Errata*. *Abregier* ne veut certainement pas dire *être berger* ; dans le passage cité, il n'a que son sens ordinaire, abréger ; il

1. Dans les corrections qui commencent la lettre précédente Gaston Paris avait écrit : « celé — ? N'est-ce pas plutôt *encelé* ?... egresillons — Sans doute faute de lecture pour *en gresillons — fers aux mains, menottes*. »

2. Cf. *Romania*, XV, 619, sur le champenois *aignes*.

faut mettre une virgule après *champs*. — *Dru* n'a jamais signifié *doux*, mais *épais*, et je m'étonne de votre erreur, car le mot est encore très-français, et se dit spécialement de l'herbe, comme dans le passage cité : *l'herbe drue*. — Aux mots *amis* (*noz*) et *cosin*, vous traduisez deux locutions proverbiales par *être le dupe* : il faut *la dupe*. — *Apostle* et *apostole* ne sont certainement pas le même mot ; l'un venant de *apóstolus* veut dire *apôtre*, l'autre venant de *apostólicus* veut dire *pape*.

Voilà, mon cher ami, mes chicanes sur votre glossaire. Quand le livre sera paru, je compte en faire un compte-rendu minutieux ; mais il me faudra pour cela un examen auquel je ne me suis pas encore livré. Vous pouvez vous vanter d'avoir fait un travail très-utile, et d'avoir accompli avec une rare excellence une œuvre de la plus grande difficulté. Au reste, permettez-moi de vous le dire, plus j'étudie vos ouvrages, plus j'admire l'étendue de votre science et surtout la sûreté de votre méthode. Vous portez la lumière partout où vous regardez, d'un œil aussi perçant que patient. Votre travail sur les Nibelungen, que j'ai lu dans les *Untersuchungen* [1], est un véritable événement dans l'histoire littéraire. Il fait époque. Il faudra dorénavant appliquer *la méthode Bartsch* à toute cette poésie du moyen-

1. Karl Bartsch, *Untersuchungen ueber das Nibelungenlied*, Vienne, 1865. Dans une note à son compte-rendu de l'édition Bartsch du *Nibelungenlied* (*Revue critique*, I, 2, 183, n. 1), voici ce que disait Gaston Paris à propos des *Untersuchengen* :

« Nous nous sommes surtout servi, pour ce qui va suivre, de ce gros livre, d'un usage peu commode et peu agréable. L'auteur suppose toujours son lecteur au courant de la question, procédé allemand qui a du bon, et qui vaut mieux assurément que la manie de reprendre toujours la guerre de Troie à l'œuf de Léda, mais qui ici et ailleurs est exagéré. Il en résulte que cinq ou six personnes seules peuvent tout comprendre, ou qu'on est obligé de faire de longues recherches que vous épargnerait parfois un seul mot d'explication. »

âge, et c'est un travail qui sera long, mais bien profitable, et qui renouvellera tout ce domaine. Quand on a bien étudié vos ouvrages, on ne peut plus se contenter d'aperçus généraux et de conclusions hâtives ou vagues ; on sent qu'on est obligé de procéder comme vous, et vous faites autant de bien par la nécessité où vous nous mettez tous de travailler que par vos travaux eux-mêmes.

Sur ce, mon cher ami, je vous serre affectueusement la main, et vous prie de penser à vous arranger pour que je vous voie. Bon gré, mal gré, il faut que vous le puissiez, ou je vous en voudrai beaucoup. Croyez bien que c'est très-sérieux, et ne refusez pas cette satisfaction à

Votre tout dévoué, G. Paris.

Avenay, par Aï (Marne).

VI

Rostock, 4. Sept. 1866.

Lieber Freund,

Ich säume nicht, Ihnen umgehend zu antworten. Ihres Entschluszes, Deutschland zu besuchen, freue ich mich ; aber es thut mir sehr leid, dasz Sie nicht nach Rostock kommen wollen, Meine Amtsgeschäfte als Rector werden es mir kaum möglich machen, mich von hier zu entfernen, zumal da um diese Zeit der Prorector (mein Vorgänger), der mich vertreten müszte, in Amtsgeschäften (als Examinator) in Schwerin sein musz. Die Reiseroute, wie Sie sie vorhaben, scheint mir nicht sehr praktisch. Erst nach Berlin, dann Göttingen, dann Sachsen, also doch wohl Dresden, ist ein

Hin und Her, welches mehr Zeit und Geld kostet als nöthig. Ich möchte mir erlauben, Ihnen folgende Route vorzuschlagen : Paris-Köln (vermuthlich machen Sie einen Abstecher nach Bonn), Köln-Hannover-Lehrte, Lehrte-Lüneburg-Rostock, Rostock-Berlin, Berlin-Dresden-Leipzig, Leipzig-Cassel-Göttingen, Göttingen-Hannover-Cöln-Paris, oder Göttingen-Cassel-Gieszen-Cöln-Paris. Der Weg von Hannover nach Berlin ist nicht näher als von Hannover nach Rostock, und Sie machen also nur die Fahrt Rostock-Berlin mehr, was die Affaire einer Nacht ist. Ich zeichne Ihnen nebenan die Route auf [1]. Es ist selbstverständlich dasz Sie in meinem Hause wohnen. Auch wenn Sie nur zwei Tage auf Rostock verwenden, so können wir hier mehr und ruhiger über die Gegenstände sprechen, welche uns interessieren (und ich hätte auch manches der Art), als in dem unruhigen Treiben von Berlin. Sie können auch umgekehrt die Reise machen und zuletzt nach Rostock kommen.

Ich denke Sie können es doch möglich machen. Sollte es aber *durchaus unmöglich* sein, so schreiben Sie mir es alsbald, und ich werde dann alles aufbieten, um eine Reise nach Berlin zu ermöglichen. Schreiben Sie mir dann auch, ob Sie am 14. in Berlin eintreffen. Ich rechne jedenfalls noch auf ein paar Zeilen von Ihnen, Meine Frau würde sich auch sehr freuen Ihre Bekannschaft zu machen.

Was Sie mir von der Veränderung Ihrer Position sagen, hat mich lebhaft interessiert und erfreut. Ich zweifle nicht, dasz Sie in dieser Stellung sich wohl fühlen werden, Sie haben da Gelegenheit, viel für die Verbreitung des echten wiszenschaftlichen Geistes zu thun, von dem Sie selbst erfüllt sind.

Um den Brief nicht aufzuhalten schliesze ich, und

1. A la page 4 de la lettre se trouve le croquis annoncé ici.

grüsze Sie herzlich, in der sicheren Hoffnung Sie bald wiederzusehen.

Ihr

ergebener

K. Bartsch.

Noch bemerklich, dasz Sie den Weg nach Marburg, um Lemcke [1] kennen zu lernen, vielleicht wählen möchten ; in Giessen bringt Diez [2] gewöhnlich seine Ferien zu. Eisenbahn haben Sie überall. Wenn Sie mit dem Express-Train 7 1/2 U. Morg. von Paris abfahren, wären sie den andern Tag um Mittag hier.

VII

Berlin, ce mercredi 26 sept.

Mon cher ami,

Je pars demain soir à 11 heures pour Rostock ; j'y serai après-demain vendredi à 8 h. 37 du matin. Excusez-moi de vous avoir fait si longtemps attendre ma réponse : je voulais pouvoir vous annoncer le jour de mon arrivée.

Je n'ai que le temps de vous serrer la main.

G. Paris.

1. Sur Lemcke (1816-1884), professeur à Marburg, puis à Giessen, cf. les notes 1 et 2 de la p. 415, et *Romania*, XIII, 635. Des lettres de Lemcke à Gaston Paris sont conservées à la Bibliothèque nationale.

2. Frédéric Diez, l'auteur de la *Grammaire des langues romanes*, que Gaston Paris connaissait familièrement depuis 1856 ; quelques lettres de Diez à Gaston Paris sont conservées à la Bibliothèque nationale.

VIII

Rostock 8. Octob. 1866.

Lieber Freund,

Hoffentlich treffen diese Zeilen Sie noch rechtzeitig in Heidelberg, um Ihnen den Inhalt eines eben angekommenen Briefes unsers Barons v. d. Leyen mitzutheilen [1]. Derselbe wird etwa am 12. October in Cöln eintreffen, um sich Rendezvous mit einem Pariser Jugendfreunde, Herrn Eugène Barbier [2], zu geben. Schreiben Sie ihm daher sofort nach Cöln (Adresse : Hôtel Victoria, Freiherr v. d. Leyen-Bloemersheim) und theilen Sie ihm den Tag Ihres Eintreffens in Cöln mit. Er freut sich sehr darauf Sie dann nach Leyenburg mitzunehmen. Nach Ihrer ungefähren Berechnung würden Sie etwa den 12. in Cöln eintreffen, was ja also recht gut passen würde.

Ich will den Brief nicht aufhalten, sonst möchte ich

1. Il s'agit du baron Friedrich von der Leyen-Blœmersheim (1795-1874), propriétaire du domaine de Leyenburg, amateur d'art, curieux de sciences et très hospitalier aux savants; il s'était lié avec Bartsch vers 1850 et resta en relations et en correspondance avec lui jusqu'à sa mort. Je dois ces renseignements à la courtoisie du baron v. d. Leyen-Blœmersheim, neveu du baron Friedrich. Les archives de Leyenburg ont été pillées en 1918 et il n'a pas été possible de retrouver la lettre écrite par Bartsch pour annoncer la visite de Gaston Paris. Celui-ci d'ailleurs n'alla pas voir le baron v. d. Leyen, comme nous l'apprend le début de la lettre IX (partie non imprimée ci-dessous). Je tiens à remercier ici M. le professeur von der Leyen, de l'Université de Cologne qui a bien voulu me mettre en relations avec M. v. d. Leyen-Bloemersheim.

2. Eugène Barbier était le fils d'un directeur d'institution pour jeunes gens, à Paris, dont le baron Friedrich avait été le pensionnaire de 1807 à 1813, comme me le fait savoir M. v. d. Leyen-Blœmersheim.

Ihnen noch viel sagen über die Freude, die Sie durch Ihren Besuch mir und meiner Frau gemacht haben. Doch das wiszen Sie ohne dasz ich Ihnen es sage.

Den Brief, der über Berlin für Sie ankam, werden Sie hoffentlich erhalten haben : ich sandte ihn auch nach Heidelberg.

Mit herzlichem Grusze

der Ihrige

K. Bartsch.

IX

Rentré à Paris à la fin d'octobre 1866, après avoir passé deux jours auprès de Bartsch et de Mme Bartsch, à Rostock, Gaston Paris ne récrivit cependant à son hôte que le 19 février 1867. A cette date, il s'excuse de son long retard dû, dit-il, à cette « véritable maladie morale » dont il souffre, qui lui fait remettre « au lendemain, et cela pendant des périodes indéfinies, les choses les plus pressantes », et « qu'on appelle procrastination ». « Je ne vois, ajoute-t-il, qu'un moyen d'effacer mes torts, c'est d'aller vous revoir une autre fois. La pénitence serait douce !»

Je n'ai pas cru utile de reproduire le long début de cette lettre de février 1867 qui est, on le voit, de càractère exclusivement personnel, non plus que le post-scriptum qui est de même nature.

Paris, ce mardi 19 février 1867.

Mon cher ami,

Que pensez-vous de moi ? Quelle étrange opinion ai-je du laisser dans votre esprit ? Comment arriverai-je à me réhabiliter dans une certaine mesure ? Voilà les questions que je me pose en commençant enfin cette lettre à votre adresse. Récapitulons d'abord mes crimes[1].

1. La partie de cette lettre que je n'imprime pas représente près de deux grandes pages de fine écriture.

..... Et maintenant, que je vous ai dit ce que j'avais besoin de vous dire, passons à autre chose, car je m'attendris un peu trop, et je ne sais où cela me mènerait. Je fais mon cours depuis les premiers jours de décembre. Vous savez comment tout cela est organisé chez nous. J'ai deux leçons par semaine ; le jeudi à deux heures je fais l'histoire des origines de la littérature française (avant son apparition, c'est-à-dire que j'ai parcouru les époques celtique et romaine, et que je m'occupe actuellement de la poésie chrétienne). C'est ce qu'on appelle *la grande leçon* : c'est là que j'ai une salle pleine, et que viennent les dames. Le lundi, à dix heures, c'est la petite leçon ; je suis censé « expliquer les plus anciens textes français d'après la *Chrestomathie* de M. Bartsch » ; mais en réalité l'explication n'est qu'un prétexte. J'ai pris un à un les premiers mots du glossaire de Cassel, même ceux qui n'ont pas encore de forme romane, et j'ai donné, à ce propos, toutes les explications phonétiques qu'ils comportent, ce qui fait qu'en dix leçons j'ai expliqué jusqu'à présent huit mots. La Chrestomathie me sert cependant beaucoup, parce que j'y puise les exemples qui servent à illustrer l'histoire de la phonétique française depuis les origines de la langue jusqu'à nos jours. Votre éditeur m'a écrit qu'il était content de la vente du livre en Allemagne et en France ; j'espère ne pas être tout-à-fait étranger à ce résultat ; je l'ai recommandé tant que j'ai pû. Je compte en donner un examen très-détaillé dans la Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes[1] ; Meyer a promis de remettre incessamment l'article pour la Revue critique [2]. Je m'attacherai surtout aux plus anciens textes, qui offrent nécessairement matière à plus de discussions ; je pense

1. Projet non réalisé.

2. Le compte-rendu de la *Chrestomathie* par Paul Meyer a paru dans la *Revue critique*, 2e année, 1er semestre, p. 329 et suiv.

vous soumettre, dans le nombre, quelques corrections que vous adopterez. Au reste, les vieux poèmes ont presque tous besoin d'être revus sur les manuscrits. J'entreprends un *Recueil des plus anciennes poésies françaises* (depuis *Eulalie* jusques et y compris les deux ouvrages de Philippe de Thaon), revues sur les manuscrits, corrigées, accompagnées d'introductions, de notes, de glossaire, etc. Je crois que ce serait une publication très-utile, et qui fournirait à la science une base qui lui manque [1]. Seulement il me faudra aller en Angleterre, et aussi à Clermont-Ferrand pour le Saint Léger et la Passion. Figurez-vous qu'on m'a refusé de m'envoyer ici le ms., que j'avais fait demander par le ministre. Il est plus facile d'avoir des mss. étrangers ; Meyer en a depuis six mois un de Stockholm.

A propos de vieux poèmes, je me suis occupé, il y a quelque temps, d'études sur les assonances et leur transformation ; j'ai songé, au milieu de mon travail, que vous vous en occupiez vous-même depuis longtemps, et j'ai laissé cela là, pensant que vous vous en acquitteriez beaucoup mieux. Si cependant vous renonciez à cette idée, je la reprendrais sans doute.

J'ai traduit votre article sur Gautier [2] ; j'espère que vous n'y aurez pas trouvé de trop grosses fautes. J'ai supprimé le paragraphe sur la Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie. Vous lui faisiez deux observations, l'une sur

1. Ce projet de Gaston Paris n'a jamais été réalisé dans son ensemble, mais nous en avons trois fragments : 1° l'édition de la *Vie de saint Léger*, *Romania*, I (1872), p. 273-317 ; 2° l'édition de *la Passion du Christ*, *Romania*, II (1873), p. 295-314 ; 3° l'album où Gaston Paris réunit en 1875, pour la Société des Anciens Textes, les facsimilés des *plus anciens monuments de la langue française* (IXe *et* Xe *siècle*) ; le commentaire philologique annoncé au titre de cet album n'a jamais paru.

2. C'est le compte-rendu du premier volume des *Epopées françaises* de Léon Gautier qui parut dans la *Revue critique*, 1re année, 2e semestre, p. 406-414.

regiel, l'autre sur *acẓo* ; pour le second cas, je suis complètement d'avis qu'il faut lire *a cẓo*, à cela, à cause de *se concreidre*, qui veut la préposition *à*, sans exception ; quant à *regiel*, je crois bien que l'explication de Diez est la vraie, mais l'autre n'est pas une faute bien grave, et je trouvais qu'un article exprès pour ce petit poème, motivé par une observation aussi minutieuse, était inutile. Gautier a eu le bon sens d'être satisfait de votre article, qui était en effet très-bienveillant, et vous recevrez son second volume dès qu'il va être paru. Au reste, il y a longtemps que vous ne nous avez rien envoyé.

Je suis occupé d'une façon extraordinaire, moins peut-être parce que j'ai beaucoup à faire que parce que je ne sais pas régler mon temps. Je ne trouve le temps de rien faire ; je n'ai pas encore commencé ma petite histoire de la langue française [1]. J'ai dans la tête un grand travail sur la légende de *Tristan* [2], qui serait le pendant, — bien différent, — de mon *Charlemagne*.

Quant à vous, je suis sûr que vous avez travaillé sans relâche depuis quatre mois. Votre traduction des *Nibelungen* est-elle parue ? — Il me semble que les

1. Encore un projet qui n'a pas été réalisé, bien que jusqu'à sa mort Gaston Paris l'ait laissé annoncer comme devant former le deuxième volume de son *Manuel de littérature française du Moyen-Age*. On trouvera dans les *Mélanges linguistiques de Gaston Paris* publiés par Mario Roques, p. 153-173, la réimpression d'une leçon d'ouverture d'un cours de grammaire historique de la langue française qui doit être considérée comme un premier dessein de l'ouvrage. La Bibliothèque Gaston Paris, à la Sorbonne, conserve les ms. de plusieurs cours de Gaston Paris au Collège de France dont chacun était une ébauche partielle de l'histoire projetée.

2. Le travail sur *Tristan* n'a de même pas été réalisé ; Gaston Paris n'a publié comme étude spéciale sur *Tristan* qu'un article de la *Revue de Paris*, *Tristan et Iseut*, réimprimé dans *Poèmes et Légendes du Moyen-Age*.

Deutsche Classiker [1], n'avancent pas beaucoup ; avez-vous commencé le *Parcival* ? Enfin, si vous me jugez digne d'une réponse, vous me ferez bien plaisir de me mettre au courant de ce que vous faites.

La Revue critique ne va pas trop bien ; les abonnés ont plutôt diminué qu'augmenté au renouvellement ; cependant, avec le papier et les caractères dont nous leur avons fait cadeau cette année, ils devraient être contents. Somme toute, j'espère que cette année ne lui sera pas trop rigoureuse ; s'il en est autrement, elle risquerait peut-être de ne pas en commencer une troisième. Vous voyez combien elle a besoin que ses amis fassent quelque chose pour elle [2].

Adieu, mon cher ami, je vous serre bien affectueusement la main. Si vos enfants ne m'ont pas oublié, embrassez-les pour moi, et veuillez présenter à votre

1. *Deutsche Classiker des Mittelalters* dirigé par Fr. Pfeiffer. Dans cette collection Bartsch avait déjà publié *Kudrun* et le *Nibelungenlied* ; *Parzifal* y parut aussi en 1870.

2. Au début de la seconde année de la *Revue critique* (II, 1, 1) les fondateurs avaient cru pouvoir se féliciter d'avoir échappé au danger de « l'indifférence du public ». Ils disaient à leurs lecteurs : « Au moment où la *Revue* entre dans la seconde année de son existence, il est de notre devoir de témoigner notre gratitude à ceux qui ont rendu notre tâche possible : aux lecteurs choisis pour qui nous écrivons, aux journaux français et étrangers qui nous ont encouragés, à nos collaborateurs surtout, etc. » Mais au début de la troisième année (III, 1, 1), voici ce qu'ils étaient obligés d'écrire : « Nous devons le dire franchement aussi, malgré les marques d'estime et de sympathie qui nous sont parvenues de plusieurs côtés, l'existence matérielle de notre journal est loin d'être encore assurée. Quelle que soit la bonne volonté de notre éditeur et notre confiance dans l'avenir de la *Revue*, on concevra facilement que les sacrifices qu'elle exige actuellement ne sauraient être indéfinis. Nous ne craignons pas de signaler cet état de choses à ceux qui désirent la continuation de notre œuvre, et qui regretteraient de la voir échouer comme tant d'autres contre l'indifférence du public qui semblerait devoir la soutenir. »

aimable femme mes bien respectueuses amitiés. Ecrivez-moi que vous me recevez en grâce.

A vous,

G. Paris.

X

Rostock, 23. Februar 1867.

Lieber Freund,

Damit Sie sehen dasz ich Ihnen nicht zürne, will ich Ihren Brief sogleich beantworten. Ich musz allerdings gestehen dasz Ich mir Ihr beharrliches Schweigen gar nicht erklären konnte, und ebenso gieng es meiner Frau, die Sie während der paar Tage, dasz Sie bei uns waren, recht lieb gewonnen hat ; ich kam daher schlieszlich auf den Gedanke dasz ich Sie durch irgend etwas gekränkt haben müsze, ich wuszte freilich nicht wodurch. Nun da ich Ihre Eigenthümlichkeit kenne will ich mich in Zukunft nicht mehr beunruhigen, und nur wünschen, dasz die Anfälle dieses Übels mit den Jahren gelinder und weniger andauernd sein mögen. Ganz soll Ihnen allerdings erst verziehen werden, wenn Sie einmal wieder zu uns kommen. Ihr Brief hat die Erinnerung an die lieben Tage im vorigen Herbste aufs neue erweckt ; ich freue mich, dasz Sie noch so lebendig vor Ihrer Seele steht. Wenn es Ihnen hier so gut gefallen hat, so machen Sie doch auch Meyer den Mund etwas wässerig. Ich würde mich sehr freuen ihn einmal hier zu sehen und er müszte sich auch entschlieszen das abominable Deutsch reden zu lernen.

Ich gab Ihnen einen Brief an Vieweg[1] mit ; Sie haben

1. Cf. p. 417, n. 5.

denselben doch an seine Adresse besorgt. Es waren Bestellungen für unsre Bibliothek : es ist aber bis jetzt darauf noch nichts erfolgt, wiewohl manche Bücher ganz moderne sind. Sollten Sie den Brief etwa unterwegs verloren haben, so theilen Sie es mir mit, und ich schreibe dann nochmals. Wenn Vieweg Schwierigkeiten in der Besorgung seltenerer Ausgaben (namentlich aus den 30 er. Jahren) findet, so würde ich mich an Tross [1] wenden, der, wie ich glaube sich mehr mit antiquarischem Handel beschäftigt. Theilen Sie das doch Vieweg mit.

Ihre Mittheilungen über Ihre Vorlesungen haben mich auszerordentlich interessiert ; ich hoffe dass Sie auf diese Weise allmälig einen guten Boden gewinnen. Aber warum geben Sie nicht lieber Grammatik und Geschichte der Sprache in zusammenhängenden Vortrage als an einzelnes grade Vorkommende angelehnt ? Ihren Plan, die ältesten französischen Denkmäler gesammelt herauszugeben, billige ich sehr. Ich habe eine ähnliche Idee für die spätere Literatur, nämlich in der Waise der « deutschen Classiker des Mittelalters » eine Reihe altfranzösischer Dichtungen herauszugeben, natürlich ebenfalls nach den Handschriften, und nicht allein, sondern in Verbindung mit anderen, und da dachte ich an Sie, Meyer u. a. Brockhaus ist der Idee geneigt und würde den Verlag wohl gern übernehmen, wenn auch unter bescheidenern Bedingungen als die deutschen Classiker, weil der Verkauf kein so glänzender sein würde [2]. Die Sache verlangt selbstverständlich

1. Edwin Tross, né à Ham (Prusse) en 1822, établi comme libraire à Paris où il mourut en 1875 ; il était installé 5, rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs. Tross ne se contentait pas de publier, il a fait lui-même du travail d'édition d'anciens textes français, par exemple pour la *Clé d'amour* et un recueil de chansons.

2. Ce projet de Classiques français du Moyen-Age à publier sous la direction de Bartsch, chez Brockhaus, le libraire de Leipzig, ne paraît avoir eu aucune suite.

noch reifliche Überlegung. Die « Classiker » gehen ungestört fort, es wird an beiden Bänden von Hartmann von Aue gedruckt, und in diesen Tagen beginnt der Druck der zweiten Ausgabe meiner Kudrun. Auch die Nibelungenübersetzung ist im Druck[1]. Neben vielen amtlichen Arbeiten, namentlich jetzt zu des Groszherzogs Geburtstage (28. Februar) wo ich eine Rede halten musz [2] und zum 12. März, wo das neue Universitatsgebaüde eingeweiht wird (oder vielmehr die feierliche Grundsteinlegung stattfindet), habe ich meist am Altfranzösischen fortgearbeitet. Der Druck des provenz. Lesebuches ist bis zum 5. Bogen (inclus.) gediehen (d. h. ganze, nicht halbe Bogen) [3]. Die Untersuchungen über Assonanz und Reim bei den Franzosen führe ich noch immer fort, und sie haben mir, wie ich glaube sehr wichtige Resultate geliefert. Ich werde sie vermuthlich zu einer Gesammtdarstellung der altfranzösischen Verskunft ausdehnen. — Da Sie die Tristansage zu behandeln gedenken (ein herrlicher Stoff !), so wird es Sie interessieren, dasz ich das Gedicht Eilharts von Oberge zu edieren gedenke ; den Text habe ich im wesentlichen seit Jahren fertig, aber kam noch nicht zum Weiterarbeitem. — Gern möchte ich eine neue kritische Ausgabe des Renart veranstalten, wenn ich nur in Besitz der Hss. gelangen könnte. Durch das Ministerium würde das wohl möglich sein ? Wenn es nicht Bilderhandschriften sind. Können Sie mir über die Hss. nicht eine nähere Notiz mittheilen ? Chabaille

1. Cf. p. 435, n. 3. L'édition de *Hartmann von Aue*, par Bech parut en effet en 1867. Cf. le compte-rendu qu'en donna Bartsch à la *Revue critique*, 2e année, 2e semestre, p. 136, et 3e année, 2e semestre, p. 265.

2. Il s'agit du grand-duc Frédéric-François II de Mecklembourg-Schwerin (1842-1883).

3. La 1re édition du *Provenzalisches Lesebuch* était de 1855 ; la 2e parut en 1868.

(Supplement) [1] verzeichnet sie kurz. Ich glaube dasz die Untersuchungen über die verschiedenen Verfaszer der einzelnen Branchen ganz anders geführt werden müssten als bisher.

[La lettre se termine ici au bas d'une page, sans signature, il est probable qu'elle continuait sur une autre feuille qui a disparu.

XI

Rostock, 17. Sept. 1867.

Lieber Freund,

Hierbei folgt die Recension von dem 2. Bande Gautier's, die Sie wohl wie die vom ersten zu übersetzen die Güte haben werden [2]. Ich schicke den Brief nach Paris, wiewohl ich beinahe glaube, dasz Sie noch in Avenay sein werden. Neulich erhielten wir in Ihrem Auftrag prächtige Stereoscopische Ansichten aus Paris, die meine Frau ganz entzückt haben. Aber ich möchte Ihnen zürnen deswegen, und vermiszt habe ich dabei, was mir noch lieber gewesen wäre, Ihr versprochenes Bild und ein Paar begleitende Zeilen, die den Werth des lieben Geschenkes erhöht hätten. In wenig Tagen wird es ein Jahr dasz Sie bei uns waren, und wir denken noch oft daran ; neulich war Delius [3] hier, da sprachen wir auch mehrfach von Ihnen. — Ich reise morgen ab u. werde nach Halle zur Philologenver-

1. Chabaille, *Le Roman de Renart, Supplément, Variantes et corrections*, Paris, 1835.

2. Ce compte-rendu du 2e volume des *Epopées françaises* de Léon Gautier, par Bartsch, a été imprimé dans la *Revue critique*, 2e année (1867), 2e semestre, p. 259.

3. N. Delius (1813-1889), que Gaston Paris avait connu à Bonn, en 1856. Cf. *Romania*, XVIII, 337.

sammlung gehen ; sie versprachen ja auch dahin zu kommen, es wird sich unmittelbar daran die Versammlung der deutschen Dante-Gesellschaft schlieszen, der ich auch beiwohnen will. Die Philologenversammlung findet vom 30. Sept. bis 3. October statt.

Die Recension über Beauvois' Buch werde ich erst nach meiner Rückkehr schicken können [1].

Mit bestem Grusze

der Ihrige

K. Bartsch

1. Ce compte-rendu par Bartsch du livre de Beauvois, lui-même collaborateur de la *Revue critique*, sur l'*Histoire légendaire des Francs et des Burgondes*, a été imprimé dans la *Revue critique*, 3e année, 1er semestre, p. 18.

HYMNAL FROM MS.

ADDITIONAL 34,193 BRITISH MUSEUM

FRANK ALLEN PATTERSON

The hymnal *de tempore* here first printed forms a portion of MS. Additional 34, 193 in the British Museum. The MS. belongs to the late fifteenth century.

I have tried to follow the MS. reading faithfully, even to the extent of retaining apparently impossible misspellings.

The script is usually legible and carefully written, though deletions and errors are sometimes noticeable.

Latin words, found in the usual text of the hymns but not found in this MS. have been inserted in brackets.

The final letter in a word, especially when it is *morn*, often has a curved line over it in the form of a flourish. After much hesitation I have treated this line as a sign of contraction for final *e*, though it must be admitted

that in many cases the final *e* so expanded is entirely superfluous

fol. 107 a *Conditor alme siderum*
eterna lux credencium,
Christe redemptor omnium
exaudi preces supplicum,

O first fownder and hevenly creature
Off sterrys shynynge in þe sperys hye,
Ev*er*lastynge lyght, gydyng frome errovre,
Cryst þ*at* lyst reydeme vs all and bye,
Enclyne tyll vs thyne earys of mercye,
Yeue gracyows audience tyll vs all,
Wyche aye for m*er*cy to þe clepe and calle.

Qui condolens interitu
mortis perire seculum,
saluasti mundum languidum
Donans [*reis*] *remedium.*

Thorough condolent pete in þi mercy pyght
Yenste force of dethe thys world embandownyng,
P*ro*vydyng remyde be þi grace and myght,
Slomboryng in synne and dedly langwysshyng,

1. *Conditor alme siderum*]. The Latin hymn is found in Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, 1841, vol. 1, p. 74; also in Mone, *Hymni Latini Medii Aevi*, 1853; vol. 1, p. 49, with some variations.

2. The Latin verses in all the hymns in this MS. are written as prose usually without large letters at the beginning of the lines, except the first.

3. This line is omitted from its proper place, but written in the margin after *supplicum*.

Thys worlde frome deth to lyffe reconsylyng,
To gylty sawlys pleyne pardone and remidye,
Sealyng thy self the Chartyre off mercy.

Vergente mundi vespere
vti sponsus de thalamo,
egressus honestissima
virginis matris clausula.

Thys world envyryng toward hys end and fyne,
Endarkyd by synne approchyng his evenyng,
O sonne of grace that lyst one vs to shynne,
And os a spowse frome hys chambyr goyng,
ffrome all damage owr frealte rauysshynge,
Passyng by þe clere cloystyre consecrate
Off mary modyr virgyn immaculate.

Cuius forti potencie
genu curuantur omnia,
celestia, terrestria
fatentur nutu subdita.

To whos myghty power and nowimparaile,
All creaturys owyth humble obeissaunce,
Off heyvyns hygh thow hast þe governayle,
T[h]ys world, also, is thoro þi pyssance,
The fendys also fell for all þeyr bobance
Mote the obey, it may no nother be;
Thus euery thyng for lord most knowlege the

fol. 107 b *Te deprecamur Agie,*
venture iudex seculi,
conserua nos in tempore
hostis a telo perfidi.

We prey the, lorde of mercy and grace,
Whane thow schalt come & ben owr hygh justice,
ffor gette owr gylt, for yeue hus owr trespace;
lett nott þe fende reioice hys Entirprise;
Hys dedly dart thy mercy do venquyse;
That dredfull dey, gud lord, vs all conserufe
ffrome thy mercy that we ne flyte ne swerve.

Laus, honor, uertus, gloria
deo patri et *filio* sancto,
simul paraclito, &c.

Laud, honor & thankes reuerente,
Endles joy, glorye Emperialle
Be yeue to the fadyr omnipotente,
And to þe sone in godhede peregale,
And to the holy spyryte celestiall
More then men mey wrytyn or discerne
By tymes now and infinite eterne.

fol. 107 b *Verbum supernum prodiens,*
a patre olim exiens,
qui natus orbi subuenis
cursu dicliui temporis.

1. *Verbum supernum prodiens*] Daniel I, 77; Mone, I, 48. The scribe became badly confused in copying this first stanza. He first inserted a second *supernum* in line 1. He then copied for his second line the second line of another Latin hymn (Daniel 1. 254) which has the same first line as the hymn in the text. The MS. thus reads

Verbum supernum supernum prodiens
nec patris linquans dexteram.

The second line has dots under it indicating deletion.

Goddys sone passyng frome place supernall,
Only goten to god, fadyr in blys,
Wyche wold be borne for mane in specyall
That he ne schuld be lost ne fare amisse ;
Thys worldis covrs almost consumede is,
Tymes mevyng swyftly to declyne,
By thy myght and purveance divine.

Illumina nunc pectora
tuo que amore concrema,
Audito ut preconio
sint pulsa tandem lubrica.

Owr sawlys all that han bene soiled in synne,
Illumyne, lord, be þi gracyows influence,
That non offence be lurkyng vs with ine ;
Enflame hus, lord, with love of suche feruence,
That to thy wurd we may yeue audience,
fol. 108 a And set one syd sectt of synnes vyle
Whyle we soiorne in thys wrechyd exile.

Iudex que cum post aderis
rimari facta pectoris,
reddens vicem pro abditis
iustis que regnum pro bonis.

Whane thow shall cum, good lord, & be owr juge,
Pute a wey the sentence of rigowr ;
Late mercy bene owr conforth and rafuge.
We ben a gast and trembyll ayenste that howre
Whan þu shalt cum to ponysche wyth reddowre,
We cane no more bot to þi mercy leyne,
Whan gud goo to blys & wikked shall to peyne.

25. *abditis*] MS. *abbidtis*.

Non demum arcentur malis
pro qualitate criminis,
sed cum beatis compotes
simus perhennes celibes.

Latte vs not thane bene artyd and constreynyd,
As p*ri*soners vndyr Captiuite;
Ne lat vs not so grevosly be peynyd
ffor owr trespace and synnes qualite;
But grawnt hus, lord, þ*a*t we may dwellers be
In blys aboue þer os þi m*er*cy shynys,
Accompanyd whyth hevenly Citizines.

fol. 108 a *Vox clara ecce intonat,*
obscura queque increpat:
pella[n]*t* [ur] *emi*n*us sompnia*
ab ethre Cristus promicat.

Behold a voyce of plesant Armony
Resownyth owt and bringyth gud mesage,
And sayth owr helth shall come frome heyvens hye
Wyche owr langowr shall lessone and assvage,
And shall vs save frome deth and all Damage,
Cryst, goodys sone, charyng A wey þe nyght,
And on vs hath spred þe beemys of hys lyght.

Mens iam resurgat torpida
que sorde extat saucia,
sidus refulget jam nouum
ut tollat omne noxium.

1. *Vox clara ecce intonat*] Daniel, I, 76.

Now lette owr mynd reyvyvoen and respire,
That hathe ben slowe *in*fecte wyth synfulnes,
Latte vs lyft vp owr hert and howr desyre!
Behold þe sterre of excellent hyghnes
Schynyth new, rapelyng of Darknes!
The lyghtsome sterre raplenyschyth *with* plesance,
fol. 108 b Wyll gyden vs frome all old greuance.

Ex sursum agnus mittitur.
laxare gratis debitum
omnes pro indulgencia
vocem demus cum lacrimis.

ffrome heyvyn is sent a lambe of *in*nocence,
To mak for vs Raunson*e* and finaunce,
Wythe owr trespas frely to dispence,
And to for yeue owr wrecched ignorance,
Wyth humble hert mak we owr creaunce
Vnto þ*at* lambe w*ith* teerys lavvabyll.
Be sechyng hym*e* to vs be mercyabyll.

Secundo ut cum fulserit
Mundum horror que cinxcerit
Non pro reatu puniat
sed pius nos tunc protegat.

Whan*e* he shall come and yeue hys last sentance,
And all þe world shall quak for feer & drede,
Hys mercy may be to vs defence,
Syth noo thyng els mey helpe vs *in* þ*at* nede.
Latte nott owr gyltys receyvyn*e* than heer mede,
But beny*n*gly pray hym hys m*er*cy vse
So that owr gylt hys pyte wyll excuse.

fol. 108 b *Veni redemptor gencium,*
ostende partum virginis,
miretur omne seculum:
talis decet partus deum,

Come now, gud lord, now come, owr savyowr,
Come, shew thy byrth of mary, modyr & mayde;
Discende, gude lord, ryght frome thy heyvenly [towre;
Now lat all worldys merueyll & be dysmayde,
How *in* owr kynd lyst to be Areyde,
And os þe son bemes peryth *in* þe glace,
Thy modyr mayd *per*maynyn*g* os sche was.

Non ex uirili semine,
sed mistico spiramine
uerbum dei factum caro,
fructus que ventris floruit.

Partles of mannes knolege or mixture,
Thys holy byrth, thys blessyd natiuite,
Whan god to mane is ioynyd *in* nature,
The holy gost by g*r*ace did hyt so be;
Thys is the fest of owr felicite,
Yn wyche þe wombe of þe u*ir*gyne
The frute of lyff tyll vs did sontyfie.

fol. 109 a *Aluus tumescit virginis,*
claustra pudoris permanent,
vexilla virtutum micant
versatur in templo deus.

1. *Veni redemptor gencium*] Daniel, I, 12

The sacred wombe and cloystyr virginale,
Evyr vnwemmed and *in*violate,
Thowgh it be fore ful sklendyr wer and small;
The baners of blys bene splaied & p*re*parate,
Ther can no thynge thys reherce,
loo, god and mane *in* temple is convers!

procedens de thalamo suo,
*pudor*is *aula regia,*
gemine gigas [*substantiae*]
*alac*ris *vt currat viam.*

ffrom þe chosyne chambyr of chast clennes
Procedyng, and pure paleys of plesance,
Thurgh hys g*rac*e owr myscheff to reydres,
A myghty Gyant off dowbyll substance,
ffor to reypresse þe feendis fowle pywssance,
ffrome heyvyne tyl Erth hys cowrs hath swet-
[yly tak
To cause owr joye and owr fynaunce to make.

Egressus eius a patre,
regressus eius ad patrem,
excursus usque ad inferos,
recursus ad sedem dei.

Of þe fadyr eternall, generate
By gene*r*acyone enarrable,
In owr nature be comene *in*carnate,
So passyng owte be manes m*er*cyable,
In to thys world and eftsone reyturnable,
Whane he hath putte the feend*es* to silence,
Vnto þe fadyr by m*er*veilows ascence.

30 The copyist has evidently omitted a line between lines 29 and 30, thereby leaving the stanza only of six lines, and injuring the sense.

40 dowbyll] 'sostance' written after 'dowbyll', but crossed out.

Equalis eterno patri
carnis tropheo accingere,
infirma nostri corporis
uertute firmans perpeti.

O godd*es* son*e*, evyn and p*er*egalle
Vnto the fadyr *in* hys deytee,
In mannes wed by trophe trivmphall,
We the besechen, arreaye þi maieste,
Support well wyth þ*a*t owr *in*firmite,
Ne cause us not to fallen*e* *in* Rvyne ;
Conser*u*f us, lord, by thy u*er*tu dyvyne.

fol. 109 b *Presepe iam fulget tuum*
lumen que nox spirat nouum,
que nulla nox interpollet
fide que iugi luceat.

The bestys crybbe, the humble assys Stall,
As pure gold Burned most fayr And bryght
Noo clowdys Blak, noo darknes noctyall,
May defare þe beemes of þis light;
Most orient and most p*er*saunt of myght
Owr feyth, owr hope, & all owr hole creaunce
Ys in thys dey and all owr Esperance.

Deo patri sit gloria,
eiusque soli filio,

65 The following Latin line after line 65 seems to have crept into the MS. through an error of the scribe :

Interpollet fide que iugi luceat

68 *Interpollet*] is preceded by *b* in the margin.

66 *fulget*] Followed in the MS. by *nouum*, evidently taken by error from the next line.

72 clowdys] Followed in the MS. by' dark' with dots underneath, indicating deletion.

cum spiritu paraclito,
et nunc & in perpetuum.

Too owr lord god, fadyr *omni*potent,
Be yeuon*e* lawd w*ith* joy ond all honowr,
And to þe son*e* that i*n* þis fest is sent,
To help vs and ben owr savyowr,
And to þe holy gost, owr cownfortowr,
As well in erth os i*n* the heyvyns hye,
Now and eu*er* ; Amen i*n*cessauntly.

fol. 109 b *Saluator mundi, domine,*
qui nos saluasti hodie,
in hac nocte nos protige
et salua omni tempore.

Saver of world, lord and mantenowr,
That hast vs kept thys deys tyme and space,
Thy m*er*cy now lat help us and socowr;
Kep vs þis nyght by u*er*tu of þi grace,
Save vs, gud lord, *in* eu*er*y tyme and place ;
We the beseche, conse*r*uf all and kepe
Eu*er*y tyme, wedyr we wak or slepe.

Adesto nunc propicius
& prece supplicantibus,
tu dele nostra crimina,
tu tenebras illumina.

Be nygh vs, lord, and be pr*o*piciable,
Have us eu*er* moor i*n* thy gou*er*n*a*nce,

1. *Saluator mundi domine*] Mone I, 47.

And spare us, thogh we be fond culpable;
Do A wey owr crimes and owr greivance,
Owr wrechydnes and all owr ignorance,
Char a Wey the darknes of þe nyght,
And of þi grace sprede one vs the light.

Ne mentem sompnus oprimat,
nec hostis nos surripiat,
fol. 110 a *nec ullis caro, Petimus,*
commaculetur sordibus.

No deyly slepe ne slombryng of synne
Mot us subdue, ne trouble in owr mynde;
Lat not þe fende owr sowlys com with ine;
Owr fughty flesshe, voluptuosse and blynde,
Noo power haff on hvs to wrappyn vs and bynde
In lynkys of lust and fowle concupiscens;
Defend vs, lord, from all heer violence.

Te reformator sensuum
votis precamur cordium,
vt puri castis mentibus
surgamus a cubilibus.

We prey the, lord, with hert and hoole entent,
With grace and godnes owr soules tendue,
And wher we have bene curuant or mis wente,
Reforme vs, lord, and mak owr soules newe;
The spot of synne from vs a wey amewe
So that noo Cryme owr sowles do supprisse,
But frome owr boddis chastyly we airysse.

Gloria tibi, domine,
qui natus es de uirgine,

25 *Petimus*] Fol. 110a begins with this word.
40 Or] MS. os.

cum patre & *sancto spiritu*
in sempiterna secula.

Criste Ihesu, owr lord and savyowr,
To þe be youene preysyng and glorie,
Boorne of mary, most myld u*ir*gine and flowr,
And to þe fadyr lavd incessantly ;
The holy gost also we magnifie
Wyth herte and Wyll & also owr hole delyte,
Now and eu*er* by tymes infinite.

fol. 110 a *Chris*te *redemptor* omn*ium*,
ex patre patris vnice,
solus ante principium
natus ineffabiliter.

Criste that wold all men*e* reydeme and bye,
Off þe fadyr al only generate,
Whos generacyon*e* noo worde ascrye
Ne tellen can*e*, i*n* godhed i*n*create
Wyth be gynny*n*g i*nter*minate;
Whos goodly byrth is memorrable
And of mortall tunges ineffable.

Tu lumen, tu splendor patris,
*tu spes per*h*ennis omni*um,
*intende quas fu*n*dunt preces*
tui per orbem famuli.

1 Christe *redemptor* omnium] Daniel I, 78.
11 Mortall] Followed in MS. by « Kynges », crossed through.

fol. 110 b

Thow ordaunt lyght, thow fadyrs feyr splendore,
The *trus*t and hoppe of all that *christ*ien be,
Intend, gud lorde, and yeue, benige savowre,
To thy *seruantes* þat mekly prey to the
Abowt þe world, and haue on*e* pite
That trust i*n* the wyth and confidence
And cal on*e* the to clensse heer conscience.

*Memento salut*is *auctor*
*quo*d *n*ostri *quondam corporis*
ex illibata virgine
*nascendo forma*m *sumpseris*.

Auctor of helth and off all felicite,
Remembyr, lord ; have *in* thy memorie,
How thow be come of owr frat*er*nite,
Descendynge dwon*e* Ryght from þe heyvyns hye
In to the wombe of u*er*gine marye,
And of þat mayde alwey intemerate,
In owr nature thow were incorpo*r*ate.

Sic presens testatur dies
currens p*er anni circulum*
quod solus a sede patris
mundi salus adveneris.

Thys p*re*sent dey be mevynge cerculere
Beyryth playne wyttnes and doth testyfye
By reuolucyon*e* from*e* yere to yere
That all owr helth is from*e* heyvyns hye,
Only by g*race* descendyng and mercye
To sauen*e* vs þ*at* els had ben*e* for lorne,
Owre savyowr is on*e* a meydyn borne.

21 wyth] A word may have been omitted after « wyth ».

Hunc celum, hunc terrá, hunc mare,
hunc omne quód in eis est,
auctorem aduentus tui
laudat exultans cantico.

Angelis þerfor in euery jerarchie,
Incessauntly they preysse and sanctus syng,
And in the world mene makene melodye;
The see also schee makyth reioynge;
Heyvyne and erth, the see and euery thynge;
Now they syngene with ioy, gladnes and myrthe,
Thys holy fest of þi most blessyd byrthe.

Nos quoque qui sancto tuo
redempti sumus sanguine
ob diem natalis tui
ympnum nouum concinimus.

We also whos rawnsone and fynaunce
Is made wyth thy blode most precyous,
fol. 111 a Thys holy fest wyth humbyll obseruuance,
Most syngyne all with hert and wyll Ioyus
Ympnes all new and most dilicious
Wyth perfytt mynd and all solempnite
Thys dey thys fest of þi natiuite.

fol. 111 a *A solis ortus cardine*
et usque terre limitem
Christum canamus principem
natum maria uirgine.

45 *hunc celum, hunc*] MS. *hinc celum, hinc.*
1 *A solis ortis cardine*] Daniel I, 143.

ffrome thens þat phebus with hys bemys bryght
Aperyth fyrst owt of þe oryente,
Gladyng the world with cownforth of hys lyght
Vn to the poynt ex[t]reme of occident,
Abowte the world thys prince omnipotent,
Wyche þis dey is borne of virgine marye,
Syng we and preyse hym thankyng devowtly.

Beatus auctor seculi
seruile corpus induit,
ut carne carnem liberans
ne perderet quos condidit.

The blessyd lord thatt þe world doth make,
Dysdeynyd not owr freylte in nature,
Hyt pleysyd hyme owr kynd reyceyue and take,
The creator took off hys creature
Liver for luff, so was hytt hys pleasure
Man for man to barter and eschaunge
To losyne man, thys lord thowght hyt full straunge.

Caste parentis viscera
celestis intrat gracia,
venter puelle baculat
secreta que non nouerat.

The chaste bowelys of cristes modyr deer,
All inflamyde with grace celestiall,
Hyr sacrede wombe the kyng of blys hytt beer,
Vnkno to hyr the thyng mysteryall
Beyryng in here clene closet virginall
fful secret thyng þat sche ne cowde dyscure,
Thys humbyll virgyne benyng and demvre.

17-18] In the MS. l. 18 precedes l. 17, but in the left margin is placed before l. 18 the letter *b* and before l. 17, the letter *a*.

Domus pudici pectoris
templum repente fit dei;
intacta, nesciens uirum
uerbo concepit filium.

The howsse full chast, the chambyr pectorall
Of mary modyr of all uirgynes flowre,
fol. 111 b Now is made a celle celestiall,
Now schall hytt be clepyd the heyvynly towre
Off crist Ihesu, owr lord and savyowr,
Be wurd alone conceyvyd sche þat chylde
Parteles of man, modyr and meydyne mylde.

Enixa est puerpera
quem gabriell predixerat,
quem matris aluo gestiens
clausus Johanes senserat.

Now hath thys meyd a blessyd babe yboore;
Now is performed fully the message
That gabriels gretyng specyfyed afoore,
And blissed baptiste closed in the cage
Off Elizabeth at vi moneths age
Ryght of hys lord be gane to proficie,
Or hee weer borne of tendyr infancie.

Feno iacere pertulit,
presepe non abhorruit,
paruo que lacte pastus est
per quem nec ales esurit.

Thys lord Ihesu wrappyd in a wyspe of heye
The powre oxes stall had not in dysdeyne;
Carpetys or kowschonys cam not in hys weye,
A lytyll mylk ferst fostyrd hym certeyne;

Hys norys had no mater to compleyne,
Hvngure ne thyrste myght her amice or greue
So dyde the chyld hys modyr aye reylewe.

Gaudet chorus celestium
et angeli canunt deo
palam que fit pastoribus
pastor creator omnium.

Enjoyeth now the quere celestiall,
And angelys syng wytth devowt melodye ;
The herdmene they mey reyioyen all ;
Now mey they se and lokyne with þere eye
Vpone þe heerd that for hys flok wolde die ;
Thys is owr lord, þis is owr creature
That now is borne Ihesu owre savyowre. Amen

fol. 111 b *Hostis herodes impie,*
Christum venire quid times ;
non eripit mortalia
qui regna dat celestia.

Thow cruell herode, thow mortall enemye,
Of criste whi art þow ferd ? whi dost thow drede ?
That he wyll put the frome thi regallye ?
The hevynly kynge to thyng terrene no nede
May have ; he yevyth hevinly mede ;
fol. 112 a He settyth not by þi mortall Empyre ;
What eylyth the ayenst þis lord Conspire ?

1 *Hostis herodes impie*] Daniel I, 147.

Ibant magi quam viderant
stellam sequentes preuiam :
lumen requirunt lumine,
deum fatentur munere.

The kinges iij out of þo orient
In theyr iorney to gydyn and conveye
A ster aperyd, Ryght in the firmament ;
Non soo bryght a for that tyme was seye,
So lyght by lyght deyvowtly sekyn they,
And madyn knolege in theyr offerynge
To mortall man, prest and heyvyne kynge.

Lauacra puri gurgitis
celestis agnus attigit :
peccata que non detulit
nos abluendo sustulit.

The lawly lambe of hvmbyll innocence
To be baptized in the Streme fontall,
And purgen vs frome gylt & greet offence
Inclynyd hym ; to no synne was he thralle ;
Bot vs to wasshe and vs to clensyne all,
That with synne ne schuld be supprisyde,
Of Jon Baptyste in iordan was baptizede.

Nouum genus potencie :
aque rubescunt ydrie,
vinum que iussa fundere
mutauit vnda originem.

A novelty gestys for to glade
By power and mervelows myghte diuine
Of verry water verry wynne was made
The water clere that erst was cristallyne
As ruby reed is changed in to wyne ;

Thys kyng of myght may byd hys creature
Aftyr hys wyll to changene hys natur.

Gloria tibi, domine,
qui aparuisti hodie
cum patre & sancto spiritu,
in sempiterna secula. Amen.

To the lord that þis day apere,
Be yeuen lawde wyth praysyng and glorie,
In tymes reuolute frome yere to yere ;
Thys solempe fest, thys blessyd Epyphany,
Off thyne aperance makyng memory ;
We wyrshyp the fadyr of myghtes most,
Criste hys sone and eke the holy gost. Amene.

fol. 112 b *A patre vnigenitus*
ad nos venit per virginem
baptisma cruce consecrans,
cunctos fideles generans.

Goddis son and lord omnipotent,
Eternally by only geniture,
ffrom heyvyne to erthe downe to vs is sent.
Off a virgyne takyn owr nature,
And one the crosse did he þe payn indure,
Wher from hys syd all faythfull to redeme
ffreschly flowyd the fontane of bapteme.

46 *Qui*] Followed in MS. by *natus es*, crossed through.
50 Be yeuen] Followed in MS. by « lord », crossed through and dots placed under, indicating deletion.
1 *A patre vnigenitus*] Mone I, 79.

De celo celsus prodijt,
excepit formam hominis,
facturam morte redimens,
gaudia vite largiens.

Thys heyvynly lord, makyng hys progresse,
Conformyd hyme to owr mortalite
To saue hys facture frome and all duresse,
He suffyrd deth and hus reydemyd he ;
Except hys deth ther might no medsyn be
That might vs all from owr old langowr lesse,
And hus conduce vn to þe heyvynly blys.

Hoc te redemptor quaesumus,
illabere propicius
clarum que nostris sensibus
lumen prebe fidelibus.

We the beseche, gud lord and redemptor,
By thy grace benigly condiscende,
And yeue hus myght, mercifull savyowr,
Eschewyng synn, owr soules to amend ;
And inwardly in to owr hertes sende
The lyghte of grace that we may gud be
To thy pleasaunce in owr felicite.

Mane nobiscum domine,
noctem obscuram remoue,
omne delictum ablue,
piam medelam tribue.

In owr soules, lord, mak thy dwellyng place ;
Reymeve awey the nyghte of synne obscure ;

13 *formam*] Followed in MS. by *virginis* crossed through and dotted under.

A soft medicine of pyte and off grace
Eynoynt vs wyth; lord, have vs *in* thy cure;
We ben thy wark, we bene thy oone facture;
Wasshe a wey owr spottes all culpabylle,
Syth thow art leche and lord most mercyabylle.

Quem iam venisse nouimus,
redire item credimus,
tu ceptrum tuum inclituum
tuo defende clipio.

fol. 113 a We knolege the lord sothly incerteyne
Of a clene virgene born *in* owr nature,
And we beleve þat thow schalt eft a yeyne
Com downe to dem euery creature;
Than help vs, lord, with mercy vs assure,
Defend the ceptyr of thyne humanite
Wyth thy shelde of perfyt deite.

Deus creator omnium
poli que rector, vestiens
diem decoro lumine,
noctem soporis gracia.

O lord þat art maker and creature
Of thynges all, o lord omnipotent,
In heyvyns lyght þu art lord and gouernere
And heer in erth all ruler and Regent,
Clothyng þe dey wyth lyght full orient,
The soune assynyd by þe to yeue schynynge
The nyght ordeynyd for sleppe and slomberynge

1 *Deus creator omnium*] Daniel I, 17; Mone I, 381.

Artus solutos [*ut*] *quies*
reddat laboris usui,
mentes que *fessas alleuet*
luctus que *soluat anxios.*

Diuidyng tyme by perfyt ordinance
Aftyr labor that men myght be quiete,
And wery lymmes myght fyndene recreance
By conforth of slepe, and so be made all mete
To labour eft; the mynd also replete
Wyth werynesse releve heer selven myght,
Puttyng a wey all hevenes be night.

Grates peracto iam die
& *noctis exortu preces*
votis ut reos adiuues,
hymnum canentes soluimus

Passed the dey, nyght approchyng myche,
We preyse the, lord, we yeuene the thankyng,
Be sechyng the to helpene vs gylty,
Whyche in þi lawd þis ympne devoutly synng,
Knolegeyng the owr lord, maker and kyng,
Wyche be þi myght and mercye wold provyde
For mannes help tymes to diuide.

Te cordis yma concinant,
te vox canora concrepat,

12 [*ut*] A blot on the MS. has deleted the *ut*. This blot, probably of ink, extends also to lines 10 and 11, in line 11 occurring between the words 'ordeynyd' and 'for'. In the English verses it has not apparently interfered with the sense.

20-21 The] Followed in MS. by 'lord' crossed through and dotted under.

31 In the MS. line 21 precedes line 20, but in the left margin is placed before line 21 the letter *b* and before line 20, the letter *a*.

te deligat Castus amor,
te mens adoret sobria.

The intraylys of owr hert*es* contemplative
Mot preysyn*e* the; owr voyce armonicall
Reysownyn*g* owt, ymmortall god on live,
En hansyng the w*ith* twnes musicall,
fol. 113 b
Aftyr the dey be tymes nocturnall;
Owr hert*es* chast closede i*n* clennesse
Mote the honowr wyth mynde sobrenesse.

Ut [*cum*] pro*fundo clauserit*
*diem caligo noctiu*m,
fides tenebras nesciat
et nox fidei luceat.

lord, whane the lyght is passyd dyurnall,
And peryth in darknes of þe nyght,
Lat not owr sowles to synnes than*e* be icall;
Suffyr not owr fayth to lakkyn*e* lyght,
Bot yeue vs grace to be gydyde A ryght,
And lest we fall to myscheffe or Rwyn*e*,
Thowgh hyt be nyght owr feyth mot bryghtly shynne.

Dormire mentem ne sinas,
*domire culp*am *noueris*
castos fides refrigerans
*sompni vapore*m *tempere*t.

Suffyr not owr sowlys slombre and slepe
Whan owr body boweth hyme to reste;
Ne nat no vice in tyll owr hert*es* crepe;

51 The reading 'icall' is doubtful. The MS. appears to read 'irall'. Perhaps the scribe carelessly omitted the 'þ' or 'th'.

lat crimes al than be Awey represte,
The sheld of fayth be pyght afor owr brest,
Wyche vs defende be derke nyghtly howres,
And of owr slep tempre the vapowres.

Exuta sensu lubrico
te cordis alta sompnient,
ne hostis invidi dolo
pauor quietos suscitet.

The profownd thowght and meditacione
Of devowte hert, sequestred frome the corpe,
Dreme the be nyght ine contemplacyone,
Whan fleschly felyng is put vne to deuorce;
That in owr slepe the fende no myght ne force
Have vs to greve wyth hys fals fraud and gyle,
Thowgh we vs rest and slepene for þe whyle.

Christum rogemus & patrem
christi patris que spiritum,
vnum potens pro omnia
foue precantes trinitas.

To crist Ihesu, wyth hert and hoole entent,
We wyll be sech to kepyne in owr nede,
And god the fadyr, lord omnipotent,
The holy gost that of hem doth procede,
Besechyng we mey seruf hyme and drede;
Oo lord, oo god, thowgh in persons three,
In substance oone, and oone in deite. Amene.

fol. 113 b *Primo dierum omnium*
quo mundus extat conditus,
vel quo resurgens conditor
nos morte victa liberet.

fol. 114 a
Lat vs avvise thys dey *pri*mordiall,
Thys p*ri*mer day, os scripture doth devisse,
Of deys all þe fyrst and p*ri*ncipall
The world was made, and crist from*e* deth did ryse,
And mad no quitte from all mortall suppryse;
Thys dey of dethe had he victorye;
Have we thys dey i*n* mynde and memorye.

Pulsis procull torporibus
surgamus omnis ocius,
et nocte queramus pium
sicut prophetam nouimus.

Puttyng a wey all sloth and slogardie
And idell thowght, encu*m*berd w*ith* lachesse,
Lat vs a ryse, owr lord to magnifie
Be nightys tyme; the psalme seyth so expresse,
Dauid dysposyd all tyll holynes,
At mydnyght roose and made hys co*n*fitence
To goddis name and hys magnific*e*nce.

Nostras preces ut audiat
suamqué dextram porrigat,
ut expiatos sordibus
reddat polorum sedibus.

Besechyng hym*e* owr preyers to heer,
And that he wyll beyny*n*gly forth extendè

1 *Primo dierum omnium*] Daniel I, 175; Mone I, 370.

And streche hys ryght hande tyll vs all þat weyre
Synfull in soule and purpose vs amend;
So þat we mey aftyr þis lyves ende
Passe and eschape the greet danger of peyne
And to hys blys fynally atteyne.

Vt quique sacratissimo
Huius diei tempore
horis quietis psalimus,
donis beatis muneret.

So þat we wyche kepe and solempnysse
Thys holy dey dewly with reuerence,
And one the sondey heren owr seruice,
Observyng hytt wyth perfyt diligence,
And sacryfyce of mek obedience
May gerdone have excedyng owr gud dede
The blysse of heyvyne yeuene hus to mede.

Iam nunc paterna claritas,
te postulamus affatim;
absit libido sordidans,
omnis que actus noxius.

Thy suppliance we the beseche and prey,
The fadyrs clerte of sone, schynyng soo bryght,
fflessly freylte that we wyth stond mey,
fol. 114 b
Vnlefull lust ne hav in vs noo myght,
Ne odyr that us annoyen myght,
Or causen vs from thy seruys to swerve,
But kepe us, lord, and be thy grace conserve.

Ne feda sit vel lubrica
compago nostri corporis

per quam averni ignibus
christi crememur acrius.

Ne suffyr not to stynkyne and be vylle
Owr corpus þat is hokell of nature;
No vice have power uertu to exile;
No defalt of corpsly compacture
Owr sovlys put in discomfiture,
That aftyr ward we bene deputyd to peyne,
Wher sowlys bene of all uertu barayne.

Ob hoc redemptor quesimus
ut probra nostra diluas,
vite perhennis comoda
nobis benigne conferas.

Ther for we prey, goode lord and redemptowre,
That hyt the please owr trespas to remewe;
Schew us thyne helpe, lord, and vs socowre
To flee frome vice and wrechednes exchewe;
lord, with uertu owr hertes so ennewe
ffoor godde lyvynge þat owr hertes reyward mey be
Of hevynly blis the grette commodite

Quo carnis actu exules
effecti ipsi celibes
vt prestolemur cernui
melos canamus glorie.

That whane owr sovlys schall bene discorparate,
And be at large, sovle and corpus a twyne;
And the flesche no contek ne no debate
A yenst tho sowle may mak, strivyng to synne;

61 hokell] The *h* is not clearly legible and may be meant for *b*.
75 lord] Followed in MS. by 'owr vertuose' crossed out and dotted under.

Than for to syng owr sowlys may begynne
Aboue *in* blys, ther joy is and glorye,
Ympnes and songe of myrthe and melodye.

Presta pater pijssime
patrique compar vnice
cum spiritu paraclito
regnas per omne seculum. Amen.

Thys graunt vs, lord, fadyr of all pyte,
We the beseche and pray the humbely,
Thyn only sone, cryst, comparant with the
In god hed with þe holy grost, 3e three
In personis and one in deite;
In oone substance personys triplitate,
All thre in oone beyng essenciate. Amene.

fol. 115 a *Eterne rerum conditor*
noctem diem que qui regis
et temporum das tempora
ut alleues fastedium.

Eterne maker off all, oo god one live,
That hast in gouernance both dey and nyght,
And tyme fro tyme mayst partene and distriue;
By thy power parten endles might
Aftyr Darknes sendyng gladnes lyght;
Man to Comfort that he ne schuld apalle
ffor lak of change or in dulnes falle.

1 *Eterne rerum conditor*] J. Stevenson, *The Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*. Surtees Society Publications, Vol. 23, p. 6,

Preco diei iam sonet
noctis profunde peruigill
nocturna lux viantibus
a nocte noctem segregans.

The bedell off dey and mesanger of grace,
Resowneth now with perfyt joye and clere,
The noyous night a wey from vs to chare;
Owr cok is crist, be trew astrologere
Lyghtyng be nyght to euery iornayere;
ffrome synffull sowles seru[er]yng the synne;
So nyght fro nyght he settyth farre a twyne.

Hoc excitatus lucifer
soluit polum caligine,
hoc omnis errorum chorus
viam nocendi deserit.

The lyght sum sterre, the leymyng lucifer,
Thys cok crowyng storyth and doth exite
ffrom all darknes the firmament to clere,
And preconizeth a dey of grette delite;
ffrome errovr we schall chaunge owr appetite;
We schall have lyght þat erst in darknes were;
The cok hath crowe; the dey shall now apere.

Hoc nauta vires colligit
ponti que mitescunt freta,
hoc ipsa petra ecclesie
canente culpam diluit.

Thys cok causyth the maystyr maryner
To rigge hys schyppe, and drede no vassillage,
Aftyr þe clowd a bydyng wedyr clere;
A plesant see aftyr the wawes rage;
And aftyr storme a wedyr of menage;

The chyrches stone, petyr, the cok crowynge,
Of hys trespas hath plenowr pardownynge.

Surgamus omnes strenue,
gallus iacentes excitat,
et sompnolentes increpat,
gallus negantes arguit.

A Ryse we now with violent fresch corage,
As thys cok steryth us and doth excite,
Lest sompnolentes cast us in disparage,
fol. 115 b
As laches folk of lyvyng inperfyte ;
The cok shall them reprovene and rewytte
That risyth not, now he doth one hem call;
hee is owr clok, he is owre trwe diall.

Gallo canente spes redit,
egris salus refunditur,
mucro latronis conditur,
lapsis fides reuertitur.

Thys cok syngyng we gynnene to respire,
Gvd hope reyturnyth þat we had lost a fore ;
Thyn styng of grace enflamyng doth enfyre
Owr sowles that wer both seek and sore ;
The fendys schall hurt vs now nomor,
ffayth is comyne to bene a gostly leche
To them echone that grace and mercy seche.

Ihesu, labentes respice,
& nos videndo corrige :
si respicis lapsus cadunt
fletu que culpa soluitur.

Ihesu gud lord, for thy benyngnyte,
Correk owr syght and owr wrechyd lyvyng;

Spred vp one vs þyne een of pite,
Wyche for owr lapse full bytterly wepyng
Call for mercy, and for none other thyng,
Wyth contrite soule owr trespas to be waile,
Yenst gostly deth we trust schall contrevile.

Tu lux refulge sensibus
mentis que sompnum discute,
te nostra vox primum sonet,
et vota soluamus tibi.

Thow verrey lyght, refulgent and schynynge,
Owr wyttes all and all owr inward mynd,
Illumyne, lorde, and sett a syd slepyng
In synne, soo þat owr eyen, that weyr blynd,
May syght reyceyff and off mercy fynd;
Wythe hert and movth þat we may to the syng
Principally a boone all other thynge. Amen.

fol. 115 b *Iam lucis orto sidere*
Deum precemur supplices,
ut in diurnis actibus
nos seruet A nocentibus.

Now the deys sterre in hys hevynly spere,
ffresche as febus, a peryth in owr syght,
Whos bryghtnes gladeth all owre emyspere,
Charyng a wey the darknes of þe nyght;
Prey we þe lord of mercy and of myght
That he vs kepe frome synne and all noysaunce
Thys dey, and haue us in hys gouernance.

1 *Iam lucis orto sidere*] Daniel I, 56.
9 This line is written in the right hand margin.

Linguam refrenans temporet
ne litis error insonet,
visuum fouendo contegat
ne vanitates hauriat.

fol. 116 a

And þat He wyll owr tunge Rule & restrayne,
Gydyng hyt so þis Dey by temporance,
That non offence we do wyth wurdes veyne,
Cawsyng debat ne Stryff or perturbance;
And of owr syght he have þe governance,
That wordly thyng wyche we be hold and see,
Ne styr us nott to caduk vanite.

Sint pura cordis intima
absistat & vecordia,
carnis terat superbiam
potus cibi que parcitas.

Thyntralys of owr hert be clene and pure,
By meditacione contemplatyff,
Soo þat noo cowardie us disensure
A yenst þe flesch whan we debat and stryve
To valour heer, and downe heer pryd to drive;
We may her kepen vndir subiugate
In meyt and drynk yff we be moderate.

Ut cum dies absesserit
noctem que sol reduxerit,
mundi pro abstinenciam
ipsi canamus gloriam.

And erly makene we owr preyer
That whan þe dey shall nighene with hys lyght,
Causing the nyght wyth drawene and dispare,
Be abstinence we ben in clennes Dyght,

That we may syng vne tyll owr lord a ryght
Ympnes and song and laude & glorie,
Wyche is þe dey lastyng eternally.

fol. 116 a *Nunc sancte nobis spiritus,*
vnum patri cum filio,
dignare promptus ingeri
nostro refusus pectori.

Now holy gost, owr verry counfortowre,
Oon to the fadyr and with sone also;
In tyll owr soule distyll the suet licowre
Of grace, þat wer euer we byde or goo,
Owr soules, lord, þi grace depart not froo,
lest we fall tyll erroure or disirynte
Wyth þi karisme profownde vs and enoynte.

Os, lingua, mens, sensus, vigor
Confessionem personent
flammescat igne caritas
accendat ardor proximos.

Owr mowth of lavde mak confession;
Owr tvnge also mote speke to þi plesance;
Owr mynd be perfyt meditacione,
Owr wyttes echon with þer sufficance;
Owr strengthes all aftyr þer hole puissance;
Owr charite more flame and in fyre
fol. 116 b
Owr neghburs all þat bene of gud desyre.

1 *Nunc sancte nobis spiritus*] Daniel I, 5o.

fol. 116 b *Rector potens, verax deus*
*qui tempe*ras *r*erum *vices*
splendore mane instruis
*& ignib*us *meridem.*

Thow myghty lord, O Ruler and regnan*t*,
Sothfast god, that hast i*n* gouerance
Tymes echone and makyst dyvydent,
Afftyr þi wyll and aftyr þi plesaunce;
þaat doost þe morne wyth fayr schynyng Avance,
And suffyrst tytane hys dartes downe to schet
Vn to þe crownd, cawsyng þe middeys hete.

Extingve flammas licium,
aufer calorem noxium,
confer salutem corporum
veram que pacem cordium.

Quenche in vs, lord, enflamyng fretyng stryve,
Wyth draw the fyre and hete of all noysaunce,
Such myscheff owt of owr sawlys drive;
Owr body, lord, conseruf to þi plesaunce,
And theym convey in helth with owt grevance;
Soo þat owr soules eye mot seruf the
In rest and pees and perfyt charite.

fol. 116 b *Rerum deus tenax vigor,*
immotus in te permanens,
lucis diurne tempora
successibus determinans.

1 *Rector potens, verax deus*] Daniel I, 51. potens] MS. petens.
1 *Rerum deus tenax vigor*] Daniel I, 52.

Off thynges all, O myghty mayntoure,
That haldest all thyng *in* thy gou*er*nance,
Dep*ar*tyng tyme fro tyme and howr fro howre ;
And art w*ith* owt mevy*ng* or variance,
Ledyng the dey be cowrs of co*n*veiance
That sche mote forth here jorney trase and sped,
Tym de*ter*mynyng tymes to succede. Amen.

*Largire clarum vesp*ere
*quo vita nusq*uam *decidat*,
*s*ed *premium mort*is *sacre*
perhennis instet gloria.

Graunt vs, lord, for thy benygnite,
That whan we schall no lenger byden heer,
Whan corpse and soule mot nede disseu*er*d be,
That ylk evynyng may be so bryght and clere,
That owr enemy ne have of vs power,
Bot schynne vs w*ith* þe sonne of thy m*er*cy,
And vs co*n*vey to blysse and to glorie.

fol. 116 b *Luc*is *creator optime*,
*luc*em *dierum pro*f*erens*,
*primordijs luc*is *nove*
*mundi parans origine*m.

O best maker of lyght and of creatowre,
Causyng and bryngyng furthe lyght dyvrnall
Off lyght*es* all ledar and governer,
fol. 117 a
Wyche in þe lyght All neve p*ri*mordiall

1 *Luc*is *creator optime*] Daniel I, 57 ; Mone I, 82.

Arreyd þe world, *in* cours originall;
The deyly tyme embelyschyng *with* lyght,
That men myght se to gydyn heme a ryght.

Qui mane iunctum vesperi
diem vocari precipis,
tetrum chaos illabitur,
audi preces cum fletibus.

Be þi precept and thy cummandment
Passed þe morne, þe evone doth succede.
The night mot cum aftyr þe dey is spent,
But morne and evone þu doost Rule and leed,
And of hem both makest one dey *in* dede;
Now comborows chaos gynnyth to Apere;
Of hus wepyng, gud lord, the preyers heer.

Ne mens grauata crimine
vite sit exull munere
dum nill perhenne cogitat
sese que culpis illegat

Save owr soule þat is full soor grevyd,
Wythe synne lat hyt not be put *in* exile
ffrome lyff, but leet hyt ey be reylevyd
Wyth mercy; thy grace mot hyt reyconsile,
ffoor whyle we be heer *in* thys wrechyd ile,
Contemplatyff owr myndes can not be;
We ben so wrappyd *in* owr iniquite.

Celorum pulset intimum,
vitale tollat premium
vitemus omne noxium
purgemus omne pessimum.

On Crist, owr lord, owr mynd mot clep and calle,
Owre inly joy *in* celestiall blys;
Dysyre we crist for owr reward vitalle;
Lat vs eschew all thyng þat noxius is,
In owr bodyes þat no stryng amisse
Be fond; also owr soule be purged clene,
Noo contagiusse thyng ther *in* be sene.

*Sompno refect*is *artub*us
*spreto cubili surgim*us,
*nobis pater canentib*us
*adesse te deposcim*us.

Owr wery lymes refreschyd now *with* rest,
Afftyr our slepe we wak and vp a rysse;
Owr sluggisshe bed no lengar be owr nest;
We dresse vs, lord, as we can best devisse,
Synggyng deyvowtly hympnes off *ser*uice,
Besesechyng þe all wey ben vs a monge,
That preysyn*e* the most hertyly *with* songe

Te lingua primum Consonat,
*te ment*is *ardor ambiat,*
vt actuum sequencium
fol. 117 b *tu sancte sis exordium*.

Owr twnge thė preysse, god lord, p*r*incipally,
And i*n* thy lawd most noyously reysown;
Owr hert and owr mynd, owr speryt i*n* wordly,

42 Stryng] Stryvyng ?

1 *Sompno refect*is *artub*us] Daniel I, 26. *artub*us] MS. *artib*us.

7 sluggisshe] The reading is doubtful. The scribe has apparently written 'shiggisshe'.

Wyth ardaunt wyll the clype and envirowne
So þat no synne supprise owr sowlys downe;
Owr actes all that yet ben folowyng,
Begynne thow, lord, and bryng to gud endyng.

Cedant tenebre lumini
et nox diurno sideri,
vt culpa quam nox intulit
lucis labescat munere.

Darknes of synne and all obscurite,
Yeve place to lyght þat hyt mey clerly shynne;
The dey commyng, þe nyght most nedes flee;
Suffyr no blame owr hertes vndyr myne,
Illumyne vs, lord, with lyght of grace dyvyne,
Reymevyng synne þat stale one vs be nyght,
And gyd vs, loord, be clerness off þi lyght.

precamur idem supplices
noxas ut omnes amputes,
& ore te canencium
lauderis in perpetuum.

We prey the and besechen hvmbylly
Wyth hert and wyll And owr sufficans,
Owr synnes all to wasshe Awey and wrie
And grawnt vs be so perfyt of creaunce,
We mey the preysse and do thy pleasance
And perfytly yeve the lavd and preysyng
Wythe ympnes all þat we mey rede or synge.

42 We mey the] Followed in MS. by ' ples ', crossed through.

fol. 117 b *Splendor paterne glorie,*
de luce lucem proferens,
lux lucis & fons luminis
dies diem illuminans.

Goddys son, oo shynyng bryght splendowre,
Of þe paternall and eterne glorie;
Owr sowlys lyght, owr blessyd saviowr,
Spredyng one hus beemys of þi mercy;
ffowntayne of lyght, shynyng frome heyvyns hye,
Noo clowdes dark thy bryghtnes mey deface,
So persaunt bene þe beemes of þi grace.

Verus que sol illabere,
micans nitore perpeti:
iubar que sancti spiritus
infunde nostris sensibus.

O verry son, ryght frome þi heyvynly speer;
The lyght of grace one vs do down descend;
Oryent lyght þat schynyth ey so cleer,
fol. 118 a
ffrome clowdys blak owr sowlys all desend;
Thyn holy gost in owr hertes send
To gydyne vs in all owr lyvys space,
Only by lyght of mercy and of grace.

Votis vocemus te patrem,
patrem perhennis glorie,
patrem potentis gracie,
culpam releget lubricam.

ffadyr of blys and god omnipotent,
Deyvowtly, lord, to þe we clepe and calle;
Whylle we labur heer in þis lyff present,
Ne let vs not in to the myscheff falle
Off synne þat may enbandowne us and thralle,

1 *Splendor paterne glorie*] Daniel I, 24; Mone I, 373.

But help vs, lord, of þi pat*er*nite;
help vs, fadyr, for we thy chyldyrn be.

Informet actus strenuos,
dentem retundet invidi
casus secundet asperos,
donet gerendi gratiam.

Owr actes þ*at* ben gud and v*er*tuouse
Establysche, and yeue us p*er*seuerance;
The fyndys tethe so freytyng e*n*vyous,
Represse hem downe be þi myght and piussance;
Suffur vs not to fallene i*n* mischance,
But yeue vs g*r*ace to bene of gud beyryng,
And the to s*er*uff whyll we be heer lyvyng.

Mentem gubernet & regat
casto, fideli corpore,
fides calore ferueat,
fraudis venena nesciat.

Govern vs so and gyd vs i*n* owr mynde,
Rule us a ryght in chaste fidelite;
Noo diffidens ne mak owr hert*es* blynd,
Owr fervent faythe mot eue*r* i*n*bracen the
Wyth owten fraude or i*n*fidelite;
Of myschance we falle not i*n* þe casse,
Govern vs, lord, by meyens of þi g*r*ace.

Christus que nobis sit cibus,
potus que nostris sit fides;
leti bibamus sobriam
ebrietatem spiritus.

52 fervent] MS. ferment.
53 Wyth owten] Followed in MS. by 'fayth', crossed through.

Crist most bene owr very sustinance,
Brede of lyff þat dyd frome hevyne discende,
Owr vitall mette, full of all suffisance,
Owr thurst also moystyr of fayth defende
Yenst grace þat we not trespace nor offende;
In gostly myrth owr sowlys drynk all gat
fol. 118 b
That soberly we bene inebriat.

Letus dies hic transiat,
pudor sit ut diliculum,
fides velud meridies
crepusculum mens nesciat.

Thys dey in myrth mot passe so noiouslye
That in þe morne our werkys we begynne,
Wyth cler conscience owr lord to magnifie,
Attempyrd ey with shampfastnes of synne;
A feruent feyth owr soules be wyth in,
As hote os sone shynyng at myddey,
So þat no evyn owr myndys knoen mey.

Aurora cursus provehit,
aurora totus prodeat,
in patre totus filius
et totus in verbo pater.

The golden morne, bronyng most bryght and cleer,
ffadyr of blis, shynyng in maieste,
The son with hym ioynyd in oo spere
With owt dysseuerance of deite;
Most plesant planetes blyssyd mot þei be,
ffadyr in son and son in fadyr is,
To whom be lawd, honoure & endles blys. Amen.

fol. 118 b *Immense celi conditor,*
qui mixta ne confunderent,
Aque fluenta diuidens
celum dedisti limitem.

O maker of heyvyne immensurable,
Dysseueryng be dyvyne ordinance
All Elementes; the erth, os centyr stable;
Water and eyr And fyre in þeir substance;
To kepyne Rule and perfyt gouernance,
Reynyng so ryght in theyr speris rownde,
They ne consume the erth nor it confounde.

Firmans locum celestibus,
simull que terre riuulis
ut vnda flammas temperet,
terre solum ne discipent.

By thy power so makyng diuident,
þat water may causen a temperence
Of fyr substance aboue þe firmament
To saue þe erth fro brennyng combust[a]nce;
The faruent hete attemperyng with moysture
The erth be neyth, þat is conseruen mey;
Thus erth A thyng thow settyst in Arey.

Infunde nunc pijssime
donum perhennis gratie
fraudis noue ne casibus
nos error atterat vetus.

Yn tyll owr hertes of þi grace dystylle
þe yeftys, lorde, of mercy and pite;

1 *Immense celi conditor*] Daniel I, 58; Mone I, 375.

No fendly fraude owr sowlys schend and spyll,
But ey by *grace* þat we conse*r*ued be
ffrom all errowr And all *in*iquite
þat myght vs marre or wayve to wrecchednesse,
So þat owr mynd we mey to the Adresse.

Lucem fides inveniat
sic limites iubar ferat,
hec vana cunta terreat,
hanc falsa nulla comprimant.

Owr verrey fayth þe leemes of þi lyght
Mote fynd, gud lord, þat we mey clerly se,
By *grace* con*v*eyd of þi shyny*n*g bryght
Of þi holy gost and counforted be,
We prey the, lord, and we be sechen the,
Wyth hoop and feyth owr hert*es* to assure,
That we mey lyff vn*e* to þi oon*e* pleassure.

fol. 119 a *Consors paterni luminis,*
lux ipse lucis & dies,
noctem canendo rumpimus
Asiste postulantibus.

O crist þat art þe p*er*fyt pat*er*nere
Of fadyrs lyght and lyght of lyght also;
O dey also gladyng owre Emyspery,
Cawsyng þe nyght to passe Awey and goo;
þe nyght of synne depart owr sowles froo,

29 schend] MS. ‘ schyld ’, dotted under; ‘ schend ’ written in the margin.

1 *Consors paterni luminis*] Daniel I, 27.

þat we ne wandyr *in* þe clowdy nyght;
þi grace, gud lord, owr sowles Ay asyste.

Aufer tenebras mencium,
fuga caterυas demonum,
expelle sompnolenciam
ne pigretantes obruat.

Put a wey þe derknes of owr mynd;
þe fend a far out of owr soles chace;
Suffyr no synne to mak owr hert*es* blynd;
Noo sompolence of slowth i*n* vs have place;
Noo lewd laches set vs a syd fro grace;
Suffyr no slowht owr bodys to supprysse,
But at owr mynd be quikk i*n* þi ser*u*ice

fol. 119 b *Sic Chr*iste *nobis* omn*ibus*
*indulgeas credentib*us
*Vt pro*sit *exorantib*us
*quod pre*cinentes *psalim*us.

And of þi gr*ace*, cryst, graunt vs i*n*dulgence
That ovr preyer may ben acceptable;
And growndyd soo in faythful trew credence,
That owr desyre may be pr*o*fetable;
And a yenst owr offence remediable,
heer vs, lord, whan we for mercy crye
Owther wi*th* hympne or else wi*th* psalmodye.

fol. 119 b *Ales diei nuncius*
*lucem propinqua*m *cecinit,*

1 *Ales diei nuncius*] Daniel I, 119.

nos excitator mencium
iam christus *ad vitam vocat.*

The gladsom Byrd, þe deys mesanger,
Synggyng *with* musicall armonye,
Sayth in hys song þe dey gynnyth to clere,
And byddyth vs Adressone us and hye
Toward þe lyff, þe lyf þat schall not dye;
Thys is ye voyce ryght of þe byrd of blys
Syngynge tyll vs þat þe dey cummyng is.

Auferte, clamat, lectulos
egros, soporos, desides
casti que recti ac sobrij
vigilate, iam sum proximus.

Thys byddyth þis heyvynly pursyuant,
That we schuld all from slomoryng Aryse,
And þat we schuld bene holly attendaunt
To plesen godd deuotly *with* seruice;
Ryghtwos and chast and eke in sobre wyse,
The lyght of grace is drawyng tyll vs nere
Of owr derknes þe clowdes for to clere.

19 godd] Followed in MS by ' wyth ', crossed through.
22] The version of the hymns ends abruptly with this line, leaving the third and fourth stanzas of the last hymn untranslated.

THE GREEK STUDIES OF POGGIO BRACCIOLINI

LOUISE ROPES LOOMIS

In one of the niches that break the gray wall of the nave of the Florentine Duomo stands a statue, draped in a voluminous robe, of a tall, slight man, with small head, narrow face, large eyes set a little close together, high nose and full-lipped mouth, whimsically twisted at the corner. It is obviously not the figure of a great man but of an active, impressionable one, nervous, quick of wit, sharp of tongue, probably a trifle vain. The pedestal bears the name of Poggio Bracciolini [1]. The statue commemorates presumably his public service as chancellor to the city in his old age.

To students of the Renaissance the name recalls rather certain spectacular exploits of his youth, when, a truant from the Council of Constance, he explored the mouldy libraries of monasteries in the Swiss mountains, and later travelled through France, the Rhineland and England, bringing to light Ammianus

1. But on the portraits of Poggio, see E. Walser, *Poggius Florentinus Leben und Werke*, pp. 311-316.

Marcellinus, Lucretius and several new orations of Cicero. These joyous discoveries constitute for us his chief claim to preservation from oblivion. Yet the thirty years of middle age that he spent as secretary to Eugene IV and Nicholas V, between his return from London and his withdrawal to Florence, were full of diversified achievements that seemed to him as valuable as the more notorious successes of his youth and were even more typical of the average humanist of his place and generation. When, at the end of his life, he looked back upon his long literary career he rated, perhaps, none of his own accomplishments more highly than his contributions during this period to the revival of Greek.

As a Latinist and antiquarian he felt, after 1424, assured of his position among the masters in the field. He could still even add to his laurels by disinterring Frontinus at Monte Cassino and puzzling out the topography of classical Rome from the defaced monuments that lay half-buried about the city [1]. He could enlarge his own library by buying or copying an old Latin text and import fragments of marble statuary from the Aegean Islands until his room was full of battered heads and figures, several of which he fondly believed might be the work of Praxiteles. He could readily hold his own in literary production with a moral essay full of pleasant, easy platitudes, a rolling funeral oration in honor of some benevolent cardinal or a venomous invective to blast a contemptible anti-pope or scholar rival. But with all these things, beside his earlier triumphs, to his credit he realized that his attainments as a humanist were still incomplete. His mind was disturbed from time to time by his ignorance of Greek.

1. His description of the ruins of Rome in the first book of his *De Varietate Fortunae* has more than once been printed.

As a young man less than twenty, he had first come to Florence about 1400, as Chrysoloras was concluding his famous Greek lessons at the university. Apparently Poggio did not join his classes, although after Chrysoloras' departure he became a member of the ardent little coterie to which the best of Chrysoloras' students belonged. His ambitions were evidently satisfied for the time being with his Latin studies and the fascinating work of fine copying, in which he developed exceptional skill and taste. But when the news of his literary discoveries in the North made him a personage of greater importance in the public eye, his own aims and standards rose accordingly. Writing from England in 1420 he complains that he is compelled to read Chrysostom and Aristotle in execrable translations and says that his love of Greek, — whatever that may mean, — has come back to him and he must yet know Aristotle in his own tongue[1]. In March, 1422, he has been considering a position in Hungary for the opportunity it would give him to study Greek, « which I long to imbibe that I may be rid of these pestilent translations »[2].

Back in Rome and settled near his old friends in the cheerful round of the papal court, he still recalled fitfully his resolution to learn Greek. In 1425, he was seeing much of Rinuccio da Castiglione and « reading » with him the Gorgias of Plato[3]. Rinuccio was a temperamental being of airs and vagaries but he had

1. Poggio, Epistt., I, 6, 8. I have used Tonelli's edition of Poggio's letters, the first volume at the British Museum, the rare second and third volumes in the Uffizi Library at Florence.

2. Epistt., I, 18.

3. Epistt., II, 35. On Rinuccio's character see Traversari, Epistt., VIII, 28. Bruni had translated the Gorgias into Latin some fifteen years earlier and his version might have been used as a trot.

gotten his Greek in far-off Constantinople and his society was therefore precious, though trying. But the reading lessons cannot have lasted long nor given the pupil much command of the language. There were, of course, frequent distractions, trips with the pope into the country, heated correspondences over the Plautus and Tacitus that were being reported from Germany. In 1430, Poggio writes to Niccoli, worried by the political confusion at Florence, to remember that escape from present troubles lies in the past. « I have already made up my mind what to do if things turn out as many fear they will. I shall devote my time to Greek literature, which I handle now uncertainly as if in the dark[1] ». In 1433, he speaks as if he had actually been at work. « I have little leisure but what I have I spend on Greek[2] ». Somewhat later he accompanied Eugene IV on his flight to Florence, married there a seventeen year old girl from the Buondelmonte family, and set up the rustic villa in the Valdarno which he had always wanted[3]. Small wonder that his serious intentions relaxed again! But his attendance upon the pope at the Council of Ferrara-Florence brought him for the first time into real association with a company of Byzantine Greeks.

For the official delegation from Constantinople, Poggio, like most of his Italian contemporaries, seems to have felt a kind of arrogant and narrow-minded scorn. One Latin-speaking Greek, however, George of Trebizond, impressed him with his learning and sound theological sense. George had been shrewd enough to distinguish himself early from his unpopular countrymen by producing a translation from St Basil that

1. Epistt., IV, 16.
2. Epistt., V, 11.
3. Epistt., VIII, 33.

supported the Roman theory of the Procession of the Holy Spirit and a treatise of his own on the errors of the Greek position. He had been invited by the University of Florence to lecture on Greek and Rhetoric. As early as 1437, Poggio describes him as a great scholar and an eloquent author [1]. The two seem to have struck up something of a friendship. Poggio makes no mention of Greek lessons but by the close of the Council he begins to use Greek words nonchalantly in his correspondence. He complains of his forgetfulness, « amnistia, as the Greeks call it, » and deprecates with some affectation the idea of looking on his own writings as « ciriadoxas [2] ».

When the pope returned to Rome to grapple again with the situation there, taking George of Trebizond with him as another secretary, Poggio lingered behind for awhile in his tempting retreat near Florence with his wife, his babies and his books. He was now sixty years of age and seems to have cherished a hope that Cosimo de Medici would offer him a stipendium sufficient to keep him in the Valdarno for the rest of his life. In 1442, he wrote one of his rhetorical letters to Cosimo to point out his own sympathy with the great man's taste for sweet, rural simplicity. Horace and Cicero furnished appropriate quotations. « Cyrus, the famous king of Persia, » he goes on to say, « whom Xenophon celebrates, used to boast that he had planted his garden with his own hands and set out the trees in rows ». « Not », adds Poggio, « that I myself care so much for the hard work, digging or plowing. I am no Cincinnatus. But a little, light, outdoor occupation — what excellent exercise [3] ! » The mention of Xenophon

1. Epistt., VI, 21.
2. Epistt., VIII, 6, 15, 18.
3. Epistt., VIII, 34.

arrests one's attention. It is a new name in Poggio's repertory of authors. Until now such scanty allusions as he has made to Greek books have been all to such as could be read in medieval or humanist translations, Aristotle, Plato, Chrysostom, Plutarch [1]. Xenophon's account of Cyrus is in his Cyropedia, which was still untranslated.

Greek manuscripts of Xenophon had been for some years in Italy. Leonardo Bruni owned one which he may have obtained from Cyprus or the Egean Islands through an agent of one of the great Venetian merchants, Piero Emiliani or Leonardo Justiniani. From it, before 1410, he had translated the Tyrannus [2]. Guarino, another of Chrysoloras' pupils, had returned in 1408 from a trip to Constantinople with all the Greek codices he could afford to buy. Among those that he bequeathed to his son at his death seem to have been two Xenophons [3]. Aurispa, Filelfo and Vittorino da Feltre, each at one time or another, possessed a text [4]. Poggio may have arranged to borrow one or more of these from his various friends.

In 1443, he apparently abandoned all designs on Cosimo and joined the pope for the winter at Siena, thence returning with him the following year to Rome. So he came once more into familiar contact with George of Trebizond, who doubtless embraced the opportunity to ingratiate himself further with a man of long standing and position at the Curia, whose friendship might be of value to him and his needy familly [5]. In

1. In Epist., X, 3, he says that he knows Plutarch only through Bruni's translation.

2. Sabbadini, Le Scoperte dei codici Latini e Greci, 51-52.

3. Sabbadini, 44-45. One of these may have been the manuscript Traversari heard of in 1417. Traversari, Epistt., XXIV, 53.

4. Sabbadini, 48, 60-61.

5. Poggio acknowledges his indebtedness to George in Epistt.,

1445, Poggio abruptly announces that he has made a translation of the Cyropedia into Latin. The final impetus that sent him into this novel venture came, if his own later account be true, from another friend whom he had known from the days of the Council at Ferrara, a man who had then been merely the industrious secretary of the bishop of Bologna, but who had now since his master's death become a bishop himself, also a cardinal and vice-chancellor of Eugene IV, Thomas of Sarzana, soon to rise yet higher as Pope Nicholas V. In 1448, Poggio wrote of his Cyropedia : « I started on this book some time ago, after Pope Eugene came back to Rome, at the urgent instigation of him whom we now have as pope, who, as you know, is eminent in every kind of letters. I hesitated to shoulder such an undertaking, one that I saw had been avoided by many of the greatest scholars, but I knew that 'hard labor overcomes everything' and that 'Fortune favors the brave' and made the attempt. To tell the truth it has turned out better than I thought[1] ». Poggio's own responsibilities as father of an increasing family of little sons may have had something to do with his decision. He dedicated the book to the bright star that had lately arisen in the Italian firmament, Alfonso, King of Aragon, who had made himself lord of the turbulent realm of Naples and was reported to be one of the most chivalrous of princes and most generous patrons of scholars.

The subject of the Cyropedia was one to appeal particularly to Poggio, whose sprightly mind had been exercised already over the problem of providing moral standards and ideals for the violent princes whose wars and intrigues were threatening to desolate Italy.

X, 9. George claimed later that he had done the heavy part of the work on both of Poggio's first translations. Walser, 501.

1. Epistt., IX, 31.

The old checks upon lawlessness and tyranny had lost their power. Citizen guilds were helpless, the Church a pawn in the fierce game. To Poggio and some of his fellows it seemed that classical literature might take the place left vacant by moribund Christianity. Princes might be led by contemplating the heroes of Livy and Plutarch to perceive the desirability of being just and merciful. What better turn could be done any promising king, or, for that matter, one's country or oneself, than to supply him with the model of an ideal ruler portrayed so attractively by Xenophon? Yet, if princes were to be expected to mould their characters after the patterns set by antique Greeks and Romans, their paths to the knowledge of these persons must be made easy [1]. No use to offer a book that by the oddity of its diction or the austerity of its style made demands upon an impatient temper. Xenophon was not, as Greeks went, an exacting author but even him Poggio thought best to abridge and simplify, toning down his Grecisms and enlivening his smooth narrative discourse with the devices of Ciceronian rhetoric. His eight books looked less serious reduced to six. Poggio himself felt that he had achieved a happy compromise between the fidelity due from a scholar to his original and the eloquence necessary to allure a princely reader.

He explains his own principles in letters which he wrote in the year or two that followed the appearance of the Cyropedia. « For my part, in order not to waste heedlessly the time I have free from business, I have just turned into Latin the history of Xenophon that

1. A proof of this statement is afforded by Alfonso's treatment of Vergerio's translation of Arrian's Life of Alexander, which he gave to Poggio's friend Fazio to be revised, polished and refinished until it was fit to be read aloud. Voigt, Die Wiederbelebung des klassischen Altertums, II, 176-177.

he called Cyro Paedia, not by way of amusement, as your friend imagines, but by hard work. I have really done the translation so that it seems Latin. For I have not rendered each little word and sentence separately but have written it out in our own style in a manner that I hope will meet the approval of scholars [1] ». « It has not the eloquence that a composition of one's own would perhaps display. For it is difficult to change the order of speech or to put it into our own style, which excels the Greek in variety of form in both words and sentences [2] ».

« The fault that you find with my division of the books of our Xenophon is gratifying to me, for you express, as is the first duty of a friend, the judgment of your own mind. But the alteration is extremely small and insignificant. It obviously detracts nothing from the authenticity of the narrative or the dignity of the author ; in fact, it rather enhances it. For many topics I treated more concisely than the Greek does, so that some of the books grew so short that they looked more like a kind of brief appendix or note, added by another hand, than a book. It would have seemed clumsy to allow such disparity in the books, one appearing as a giant, another as a pigmy. We know too that all our own authors maintained a uniformity in the length of their books ». Terence himself admits that he made one fable out of two of Menander. « As for your surprise that the book has not been translated before, ...the reason is the labor that has kept many distinguished persons from attempting it. For it is very difficult to make a version that will be of use to us and that men of literary tastes can read. I am not so vain as to say that I have trans-

1. Epistt., IX, 14. To Piero Thomasio of Venice, 1446.
2. Epistt., IX, 23. To Antonio Panormita, 1448.

lated more successfully than others nor, on the other hand, will I belittle my own toil, for I have not, as many do, adhered strictly to my author but have written a history that can be read without trouble. Carlo Aretini, the most learned man of our age, has said, I am told, that he admires the freedom I have used in my translation, for that without it the book would have been a most ungainly sort of thing. .... Many copies of it have been sent out to Gaul, Spain and Italy [1] ». « Indeed, I have preserved the gist of the contents but avoided the verbosity with which the Greeks are usually so redundant [2] ».

But the book and its dedication had still to be brought to the notice of King Alfonso, who might properly be expected to repay the compliment with a handsome sum in cash. A hardworking father of a family required more substantial reward for his labor than the mere spectacle of a softened tyrant taking his classical precepts to heart. Poggio composed a letter to Alfonso in which he skilfully led the subject around to the great king of Persia and then went on. « The learned and accomplished Xenophon has related in several volumes the life of that Cyrus of whom we have been speaking, describing the manifold occupations, duties and virtues of a just prince and commemorating his renowned exploits in both war and peace, omitting not one characteristic of the successful monarch. The work, Cicero says, was always in the hands of the elder Africanus, who declared he spent his whole time reading it. And certainly it contains every maxim of good conduct, every rule for an honorable life, every virtue that belongs to kings. Cicero also says that it was written not to furnish historical facts

1. Epistt., IX, 26. To Piero Thomasio, 1448.
2. Epistt., IX, 32. To Francesco Aretini, 1448.

but to formulate a standard of just government. So Xenophon describes not what Cyrus did but what an upright prince ought to do ». Not, of course, that Alfonso needs fiction to make his name resplendent nor anything recounted of him but the bare truth. His reign is not blotted by wars and cruelties such as stained the fame of Augustus, nor by the weaknesses and failures of Trajan, Aurelius and the Antonines. It may well be called the age of gold [1].

For some reason or other this egregious flattery failed to touch Alfonso. Whether he had the sense to be chilled by it or whether, as Poggio insisted, the supercilious Valla poisoned his royal mind against it, at all events the expensive, decorated, presentation copy of the Cyropedia was received at court in ominous silence. Poggio's friends in Naples could do nothing to help him. In 1447, he writes to one of them, full of chagrin and vexation over the waste of a fine piece of work. The king is evidently incapable of recognising a scholar when he meets one. Poggio is having blanks left, where the king's name once stood, in all the new copies that are being made [2]. Three years later, however, the recompense suddenly came as inexplicably as it had hitherto been withheld. The Neapolitan ambassador in Florence sent Poggio six hundred ducats in the king's name without comment

1. This is also the language of the dedication prefixed to the book, which was printed by Bandini. Codd. Lat., II, 351-353. The very volume, prepared in gilded and painted binding for presentation to Alfonso, is now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. Voigt, I, 334, n. 2. How lost to decency Poggio might be when desperate for money as he occasionally was, appears in Epistt., IX, 29, where he suggests that the executor of a deceased cardinal remember him (Poggio) with something from the estate, since a dead man's fame depends upon what scholars say of him.

2. Epistt., IX, 21, 24, 30.

or excuse. Poggio acknowledged the belated gift in a letter that at the same time voiced his relief and gratitude and neatly salved his wounded pride. After all he had not been mistaken in Alfonso. His generosity, like all great things, is slow, waiting for the cloud of calumniators to clear away, but rich and abundant when it comes. The delay is to be regretted not, indeed, on Poggio's account, for he has had his compensation in the praise of learned men, but for the opportunity it has created for ignorant tongues to blame the king [1]. Thereafter Poggio considered himself warranted in addressing the king as a friend and fellow scholar. In 1455, he wrote him twice on the subject of a Crusade against the Turks, reminding him how easily the Greeks had overcome Xerxes [2].

But although there was mortification connected with the attempt to make money by the Cyropedia, there was applause enough for the work itself to soothe the most injured feelings. No one among the humanists, except perhaps Valla, seems to have censured Poggio for the liberties he had taken with Xenophon's text and only a few objected to his redivision of the material into six books instead of eight. He had produced a readable volume of fresh, classical history. What more could be asked ? His letters between 1446 and 1449 teem with gratification at the general approval and at the inquiries coming in from scholars outside Italy. He is ready with advice to others on how to make a good translation. In 1448, he writes that he has started on a second and in August, 1449, from his

1. Epistt., X, 10. Was the « property » belonging to Poggio, that George of Trebizond got from Alfonso soon after this, some further payment procured by representing to the king George's share in the translation ?

2. Epistt., XII, 23, 24, 28.

villa near Florence, sends word to the pope that he has completed Diodorus [1].

The accession in 1447 of his old friend, Thomas of Sarzana, to the papacy seemed, in fact, to put a somewhat better complexion on Poggio's affairs [2]. With little delay Nicholas V set about utilising every scholar within reach to carry out his scheme of restoring Greek literature to the West by means of a systematic series of translations of its chief masterpieces. The days of volunteer, random versions of minor works by isolated individuals here and there were over. First in order were now to be taken the most serious prose-writers, the philosophers and historians, Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristotle, Strabo, Polybius, Appian, Eusebius. Whoever in Italy could make a passable translation was pressed into service and assured of good payment. Poggio was invited to try his power again on the History of Diodorus and set free from his duties at the Cancelleria that he might put all his time upon the task. George of Trebizond was still at hand with the indispensable aid [3]. After something more than a year of work Poggio was able to retire to his villa to put the finishing touches to his new performance and to revise and correct the final copy [4].

Of the original forty books of the Universal History, compiled by the Sicilian Diodorus shortly after the death of Julius Caesar, only fifteen have come down

1. Epistt., IX, 27, 32.

2. Epistt., IX, 17. Poggio writes confidentially that he knows the new pope looks on himelf as a beleved friend but that he intends to be modest in the use of his privileges. He only hopes that Nicholas will not be spoiled by his elevation. See the reference to the family rejoicing at the news of Nicholas' election in the speech made by Poggio's second son on the occasion of his presentation to the pope. Walser, 494.

3. Epistt., X, 9.

4. Epistt., X, 1, 3.

to us or were discoverable in fifteenth century Italy, namely, the first five and the second ten. These fifteen, moreover, were at some early period separated from one another, so that no extant manuscript contains them all. The first five were naturally chosen first for translation and fell accordingly to Poggio. George of Trebizond himself afterward undertook the next surviving five, Books XI to XV, but stopped with XIV [1]. Decembrio later began on Book XVI but had made little progress when Nicholas died and the enterprise went no further.

The manuscripts of Books I to V are divided by textual critics into two classes, the first represented by an eleventh century codex, recently in Vienna, which in the late fifteenth century was the property of an Italian humanist, Parrasio by name, who moved from Milan to Naples [2]. Very early in its existence this codex lost its first leaf that contained the argument of the first book and the last leaf with the concluding paragraph of the fifth. Various fifteenth century copies of this manuscript, deficient in both opening and close, are in Italian libraries. The oldest Western codex of the second class dates from the twelfth century and is now in the Vatican. A fourteenth century Greek codex

1. A rough manuscript of this translation, with a word of ascription to Pius II but without the author's name, is in the Vatican, Latin, 1816.

2. This account of the Greek texts of Diodorus is taken from Vogel's Introduction to the Teubner edition of 1887. Vogel remarks that Poggio's translation is for the most part based apparently upon a text of the first class but that once, at least, he falls into a stupid error by preferring a corrupt reading in a manuscript of the second class. In IV, 22, 3, the first class texts give correctly : « κυνηγὸν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν θήραν ἀνδραγαθήμασι διωνομασμένον ». Second class texts have erroneously substituted χώραν for θήραν. Poggio's version runs : « erat venator in regione quae dicitur Andragathia. »

of this type is also in Florence and copies made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are in Venice, Florence and elsewhere. The slight divergences in text between these two classes of manuscripts must, of course, run back to quite ancient times.

In the preparation of his translation Poggio made use of at least two Greek manuscripts, one of each class. A Diodorus had been among the codices brought by Aurispa from the East in 1423 [1]. Aurispa was now in the pope's employ and may have known where to lay hands upon the book, even after twentyfive years. The second manuscript may have been found in Florence. Again Poggio challenged criticism by altering the original divisions of the work, making this time six books out of Diodorus' five. The first book, as Diodorus wrote it, is indeed slightly the longest and includes considerable introductory matter. Poggio cut it in two, leaving his new second book less than half the length of his fifth, a lack of symmetry which at this point did not seem to annoy him [2]. One wonders if his spirit of bravado was not inducing him to do again what had aroused most disapproval in his previous performance. In the process of translation, he aimed once more to make something that should not seem « altogether Greek ». Nevertheless, he took far fewer wanton liberties with his author, following in the main conscientiously in the original track. He may have felt that the occasion was now more serious and that his work was coming into competition with that of younger and more qualified scholars. He seems to have omitted deliberately nothing but those odd words and phrases that baffled his and George's powers

1. Traversari, XXIV, 38.

2. In the copy made for the pope' the length of Poggio's six books is 46, 38, 56, 70, 79 and 66 pages respectively. Vatican, Latin, 1812.

of comprehension. His practice of breaking up the long Greek sentences and converting Greek idioms freely into Latin amounted merely to a justifiable application of his theory that a translation into Latin should be genuinely Latin.

The real weakness of his Diodorus lies in his absolute inexperience not only of the Greek language but, even more, of Greek ways of thinking. His own mind, since the days of his youth, had been possessed by imitative enthusiasm for antique form and style in art and literature, as far as he had been able to know them. He had lived by his perceptive and appreciative faculties, his esthetic emotions. Such analytical or reasoning powers as he might have had had not been called into play. He seems never to have examined one of the assumptions that lay behind the polished surface of the style he loved. He had a quick ear for the cadence of a Latin sentence and for what may be called the sound of an idea and, in translating, he tried to render a Greek idea by one that had a corresponding sound in eloquent Latin. Unfortunately, sound is not an adequate criterion for anything but the simpler ideas. Compared with Thucydides or Polybius, Diodorus is not a profound or subtile historian. But in translating him Poggio is constantly taking straight cuts through his discussion, dropping an argument short of its point, breaking up a passage of continuous, careful ratiocination into brief commonplaces because of his own mental inability to sustain a line of thought past the simplest limits, particularly in the strange medium of the Greek sentence that to him had no cadences. The clauses whose full implication or part in the subject he fails to grasp are what seem to him the futile, jangling, irritating Greek verbosity.

The virtues and faults of his translating at its best may, perhaps, be discerned in a set of extracts from the opening paragraph of Diodorus, in which Poggio's

Latin is put beside a close translation of it into English and beside a translation of the Greek original [1].

Diodorus, I, 1, 2. Poggio's Latin Version.	English version of Poggio's Latin.	English version of the Greek.
Magnas merito gratias rerum scriptoribus homines debent, qui suo labore plurimum vite mortalitum profuere. Ostendunt enim legentibus preteritorum exemplis quid nobis appetendum sit quidve fugiendum. Nam que multarum experimento rerum variis cum laboribus periculisque procul ipsi ab omni discrimine gesta legimus ; nos admonent maxime quid conferat ad degendam vitam. Ideoque heroum sapientissimus est habitus is qui sepius adversam fortunam expertus multorum urbes ac mores conspexit. Cognitio vero ex aliorum tum secundis tum adversis rebus percepta doctrinam habet omnium periculorum expertem.	Mankind owes by rights a vast debt of gratitude to historians, because by their toil they benefit so greatly human life. For they teach their readers by examples from the past what we should desire and what avoid. Remote from every peril, we read of the deeds achieved after many experiences through multifarious exertions and dangers ; they are our best instructors in what is valuable for the conduct of life. For this reason he was deemed the wisest of the heroes who had continually faced evil fortune and seen the cities and the ways of many men. Indeed, the knowledge that is gained from the successes and failures of other men contains instruction free from any danger.	Authors of general histories ought by right to receive deep gratitude from all mankind, because by their labor in private they furnish an aid to the general life. They give their readers instruction without risk in what it concerns them much to know and build up for them by effort of mind a splendid store of wisdom. For knowledge that is gained step by step through experience involves great toil and danger before it makes one able to recognise in every case the sagacious course and, therefore, he who was the most experienced of heroes « saw the cities of many men and learned their minds » through a multitude of troubles. But the understanding that comes from a history of other men's good or evil fortune has instruction in it free from pains.

1. For lack of space a Greek text is not given here. The English translation from the Greek is based upon the Teubner edition, already mentioned. Although such a text cannot be identical with any one that Poggio employed, the differences are so trivial as not to vitiate our comparison. The Latin text is taken from Vatican Mss., Latin, 1812, the magnificent copy made expressly for Nicholas V and written in the clear « Lombard » hand of John of Rothenburg.

Omnes preterea mortales mutua quadam cognatione iunctos, licet locis ac tempore distantes, sub unum veluti conspectum redigunt, divinam sane providentiam imitati, que tum celi ornatum tum naturas hominum varias in communi sitas, ordine quadam per omne evum complexa, quid quemque deceat divino munere impartitur. Eodem pacto qui totius orbis velut unius civitatis acta suis operibus inseruerunt in communem ea utilitatem conscripsere. Pulchrum est igitur ex aliorum erratis in melius instituere vitam nostram et non quid alii egerint querere sed quid optime actum sit nobis proponere ad imitandum. Seniorum consilia quos longa etas prudentiores effecit laudantur a iunioribus. At hos tanto antecellit historia quanto plura exempla rerum complectitur diuturnitas temporis quam hominis etas.

Besides this, historians include as under one survey all humanity, knit together by a common tie of blood, though separated widely in space and time, imitating in this respect the divine providence which embraces through all eternity in one design both the beauteous heaven and the divers natures of men in their common existence and allots to each by divine bounty what each should have. Even thus, those who have assembled in their works the doings of the whole earth as if they were of one city have recorded them to the universal benefit. It is a fine thing to use the mistakes of others to order our life better and not to be asking what other men have done but to be setting before ourselves for emulation the deeds that have been done most nobly. The counsels of old men who have been made sagacious by great age are valued by their juniors. Yet history surpasses them, just as the length of time it covers embraces more examples of life than does the age of any man.

Furthermore, these historians strive to bring under one and the same survey all humanity, sharers with each other in their common origin but now separated widely by space and time; thus they become themselves, as it were, agents of the divine Providence. For as Providence binds together the order of the stars that we see and the natures of men in one common design and revolves continually through all eternity, awarding to everyone that which is allotted to him by Fate, so historians arrange side by side the doings of the whole world as if they were of one city and construct from their labors one story and a general treasurehouse of all the past. It is a great advantage to be able to use the mistakes of others as warnings for our own guidance and not to have to grope amid the present to pattern our life beautifully but to imitate great exploits of the past. Everyone prefers the aged to young people in councils by reason of the formers' experience gained through the passage of time. Yet the wisdom that comes from history excels such experience as much as the one outreaches the other in the multitude of the events which it comprehends.

Itaque ad vite institutionem utilissima historia censenda est, tum iunioribus quos lectio diversarum rerum antiquioribus equat prudentia, tum vero etate maturis quibus diuturna vita rerum experimenta subministravit. Adde quod privatos viros imperio dignos effecit. Imperatores ob immortalem gloriam ad preclara facinora impellit. Milites propter laudem que mortuos sequitur promptiores efficit ad pericula pro patria subeunda, improbos timore infamie a malis facinoribus deterret. Denique litterarum monumentisque testimonium virtuti prebent moti quidam tum condidere civitates tum leges utiles vite mortalium ediderunt. Nonnulli novarum artium doctrinarumque inventores ad usum gentium extitere. Sed omnium rerum quibus felicitas hominis paratur laudem precipuam causamque historie tribui decet.

So history must be pronounced of immense worth in the conduct of life, both for the young, who by reading its varied chronicle are made as sagacious as their elders, and for the ripe in years, whose long life has given them the benefit of experience. In addition, it fits private citizens to assume an empire [1]. It stimulates emperors to perform distinguished deeds for the sake of immortal glory. It makes soldiers more ready to endure perils for their country that they may win the renown that follows death ; it deters base men from crimes for fear of obloquy. Finally, because of the literary memorial which it erects to bear witness to courage, some men have been impelled to found cities, others to enact laws beneficial to human life. Others have become discoverers of new arts and learning for the use of mankind. Of all the instruments which are employed to promote the happiness of men history deserves the chief praise and credit.

Hence, anyone should consider the mastery of history the most serviceable preparation for all conditions of life. To young men it affords instruction in the wisdom of old age, for old men it multiplies the experience they already have. Men in private life are fitted by it for leadership and leaders, through the immortality which it gives to fame, are stimulated to attempt glorious deeds. Besides this, it makes soldiers more ready to face perils on behalf of their country that they may win its plaudits after death and deters base men from abandoning themselves to evil for fear of eternal infamy. Finally, because of the memorial which it keeps of every thing noble, some men have been impelled to found cities, others to establish laws to guard the common life in safety and many have striven to search out knowledge and arts for the benefit of the human race. Since, then, perfect happiness is a compound in one of all that is good, the highest commendation should be given to history which, more than aught else, leads us to this.

1. Poggio may have used " imperium " and " imperatores " in the earlier, republican sense of " command " and " commanders " or " generals ".

When it came to the dedication of Diodorus there could, of course, be no question. The pope who had furnished incentive and provision for the enterprise, who was, as Poggio put it, « the source whence flowed the rivulet of this present book » [1], who by his enlightened patronage of men of letters had released them from their bondage to poverty and set them free to advance the sacred cause of knowledge, had now an indisputable right to all the honors. « Certainly I, whose learning and command of speech are poor compared with others, assert that I have been stirred by your urgency and generosity to devote myself more seriously than ever before to the effort of composition. For some time ago at your instigation I translated Xenophon's Life of Cyrus for the use of Latins and next, at your desire, I undertook the task of translating these six books of Diodorus Siculus, which he called fabulous because of the antiquity of the period of which they treat, covering events before the Trojan War, although I knew well that I was attempting something very difficult and open to much criticism. And although such criticism should be disregarded by men of upright character, yet it sometimes was distressing to ancients of the highest authority. What, then, should be expected of us, who are protected by neither authority nor station? In reliance, however, upon your most excellent judgment and that of other scholars I have completed this book, setting before myself the same rule for translation that I described in my preface to Xenophon, namely, to omit that swarm of words which the Greeks often employ, preserve the sense and adopt our own mode of speech, while maintaining fidelity to the original ».

1. The text of this dedication taken from Vatican, Latin, 1812. It is printed in the Vita Nicolai V of Georgius, pp. 177 ff.

That Poggio was more nervous than usual at the thought of the sharp, young eyes that would presently scrutinise his work and the tongues that would be ready to point out its defects to Nicholas becomes clear as he goes on. « So I ask my readers to be satisfied with my powers nor to demand from us more than our strength will bear. Whoever requires more is acting as an ingrate, not content with what is provided for him without cost, liberally, by a lavish hand. But let no one imagine that I have pursued this course out of ignorance; let him understand that I have deliberately aimed at conciseness, omitting things that resulted in plethora of speech instead of elegance. .... Realey, the book is diversified, excellent, illuminating, and the knowledge of it so advantageous for us that I believe the readers of it will be thankful for my labor because of the instruction they will derive in so many admirable subjects ».

With Diodorus Poggio's translating stopped for a year or two. His relations with George of Trebizond had become strained before the work was quite finished. George now had plans for figuring largely as a translator himself. He was ready to continue Diodorus alone and felt probably that he had outgrown the necessity for supplying Poggio with indefinite amounts of anonymous assistance. In 1450, Poggio was expostulating with him for an angry attack upon himself, trying evidently to prevent a positive rupture. A little later they were open enemies [1]. Poggio was seventy years old and a trifle tired and sour. He turned back to the occupations that came easily to him, the Latin lessons to his older sons, the preparation of his correspondence for publication, the composition

1. Epistt., IX, 1; X, 17, 25; Walser, letters in Appendix. nos 64-67.

of new witticisms for his collection of Facetiae and of scathing polemics against Valla, who was now in Rome as one of the pope's latest protegés and whose superior scholarship and scornful disparagement of Poggio's cherished idols were offenses too great to bear[1]. Nicholas may not have suggested another translation. But in or about the year 1451, Poggio suddenly produced a Latin version of Lucian's Ass, as if to show that he could do something without George's help[2]. In a short preface addressed to Cosimo de Medici he explains that he has been interested to find in reading this dialogue the original of Apuleius' Golden Ass and that for the sake of practice he has turned it into Latin. He dedicates this work to Cosimo, hoping that the asininine humor and lewdness of it may serve to cheer some tedious hours of gout. The style of the translation is livelier than ever; it seems as if for once Poggio had hit upon a Greek author of truly congenial temperament. In 1453, an invitation to assume the office of chancellor in Florence gave an opportunity to retire with dignity to the Tuscan villa.

To the end of his life he spoke of his two first translations as his finest scholarly achievement. King John of Castile was reported to have liked some of his Latin essays. Poggio writes, offering to send him also the Life of Cyrus « in which there is a description of what a king should be »[3]. To a canon of Ferrara he sends word that « the scribe who has been copying Diod-

1. Epistt., XI, 29.

2. This translation is contained in an edition of Poggio's works printed at Basel in 1538. The date of it is fixed by a jeering allusion to it in Valla's Antidoton II, which appeared in 1452. Poggio attempted also a translation of Lucian's True Histories, a manuscript of which in the Vatican. Walser, *op. cit.*, 231, n° 1.

3. Epistt., XI, 9.

orus sold it on completion without my knowledge to a man who was on his way to France but has promised to copy it out again and to do so at once. I believe he will keep his agreement and if he does, the book will soon be travelling to you »[1]. Will the canon be so good as to get through the bishop of Ferrara a Paduan gander and four geese for Poggio's villa? The chancellor of Bologna reports himself perplexed by the discrepancies between Xenophon's account of Cyrus and that given by other historians and Poggio explains authoritatively the reasons for the difference [2]. The news that Nicholas had made « the filthy monster », Valla one of his secretaries was maddening but at least he was not at Rome to see it. To literary aspirants he continued to give the old advice. Study Cicero and the eloquent Latin historians and poets first and then philosophy, which supplies ornament to speech[3]. After this grounding in the fundamentals go on to Greek, if you can.

In the years after his death his version of the Cyropedia was supplanted by that of Filelfo, which certainly made considerably more pretension to accuracy. The Diodorus, however, circulated without a rival and kept Poggio's reputation alive through several successive generations. It had not the conspicuous infidelities of his Xenophon but was still fluent and agreeable. The subject, too, of that portion of the History, a blending of philosophy and myth, was peculiarly attractive to literary men of the day. Long before Valla's Thucydides found a publisher, the Dio-

1. Epistt., XI, 30.

2. Epistt., XI, 32.

3. Epistt., XII, 31. Poggio composed a pessimistic essay after his withdrawal to Florence, De miseria conditionis humanae, Epistt., XI, 15 ; also a History of Florence in the style of Livy, Epistt., XI, 4.

dorus was printed at Bologna in 1472 and passed thereafter through numerous editions in Venice and Paris. Not until the Greek text itself was brought out by Estienne in Paris in 1559, did any one observe how far Poggio had fallen short of furnishing a true equivalent. So far as we hear, Pope Nicholas saw no fault in either Poggio's Xenophon or his Diodorus. Copies of each were among the small personal collection of precious books that were discovered locked away in his private cabinet at his death.

RIME AND RHETORIC IN THE "DIVINE COMEDY"

CHARLES H. GRANDGENT

Quelque sujet qu'on traite, ou plaisant ou sublime,
Que toujours le bon sens s'accorde avec la rime :
L'un l'autre vainement ils semblent se haïr,
La rime est une esclave, et ne doit qu'obéir.
Lorsqu'à la bien chercher d'abord on s'évertue,
L'esprit à la trouver aisément s'habitue ;
Au joug de la raison sans peine elle fléchit ;
Et, loin de la gêner, la sert et l'enrichit.
Boileau, *Art poétique*, I, 27-34.

Io scrittore udii dire a Dante che mai rima nol trasse a dire altro che quello ch'avea in suo proponimento, ma ch'elli molte e spesse volte facea li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello ch'erano appo gli altri dicitori usati di sprimere.

Ottimo Commento : Inf. X, 85.

Presumptuous perhaps, but surely fascinating, is the analysis of a master's artistic processes, the effort to follow his train of thought, to discover his difficulties

and examine the devices by which he has met them. Although no two readers will agree, the venture of one may interest another; at any rate, it pleases the adventurer to think so. The present study was in the first place stimulated by predecessors, widely as it may differ from them in its inferences and neglectful as it may seem of their contributions. Indeed, inasmuch as any such appreciation must be subjective and impressionistic, I have thought it best to begin afresh, with material of my own collecting. In a case where there can be no question of completeness or finality, a desultory assemblage of examples may serve the purpose as well as one obtained by more scientific methods. I am speculating on a basis of specimens culled during two special perusals of the *Divine Comedy*, altogether more than 500 passages in which a term, form, or image seemed open to the suspicion of owing its place to the suggestion of rime. After completing my list, I checked it by comparison with E. G. Parodi's masterly study, *La rima e i vocaboli in rima nella Divina Commedia*, in the *Bollettino della Società dantesca italiana*, Nuova Serie, III, 81. I did not consult again N. Zingarelli's *Parole e forme della Divina Commedia aliene dal dialetto fiorentino*, nor I. Del Lungo's *Il volgar fiorentino nel poema di Dante*, nor an early, unpublished treatment of the matter by A. De Salvio, now Professor in Northwestern University.

The choice of such words and figures — of course fallible at the best — calls into play all the knowledge one may possess of early Italian linguistic usage, all the sympathetic familiarity with Dante's mind that long frequentation can bestow. Helpful if not indispensable is some experience, however unsuccessful, in the composition of verse, especially *terza rima*. Whether he stand at the top or the bottom of the poetic scale, the versifier has to encounter the same obstacles; his rank is shown by his way of surmounting them.

For the artist, be he painter, sculptor, musician, or poet, the eternal problem is the adaptation of his concept to his medium. This shaping is what we mean by *technique*. No work of art springs Minerva-like from the brain of its maker ; it is the outcome of a series of struggles, compromises, and triumphs. If the maker be a real Jove among the Olympians, his child is the better for the pangs of creation.

> Oui, l'œuvre sort plus belle
> D'une forme au travail
> Rebelle.

Hardly a line of the *Divine Comedy*, I dare say, is phrased exactly as it would have been cast had the author been writing in prose ; nearly always, however, the poet's success is so smooth, his product is so perfectly turned, that his procedure cannot be guessed. His output confronts us with all the baffling, impenetrable beauty of a wonder of nature. Only in the rare event of a seeming flaw can one detect a clue ; only when signs of the struggle still appear can one dare to retrace the operation.

The clues I have sought are expressions which, unusual in themselves, apparently unnatural (even for Dante's time) betray no intrinsic dependence on the thought. Just as the acts of a human being are due both to internal and to external stimuli, so the modes of speech in a poem spring in part from the inner push of the idea and its associations, partly from the prick of rime and metre. Often this goad suggests a turn more original, more forceful than the concept itself would have afforded ; often, on the other hand, the result shows an eccentricity that blurs the effect.

In an ordinary series of rimes, as in a rhetorical climax, the maximum of efficacy is attained by putting the feeblest member at the beginning, the strongest at

the end. The bizarre initial rime, until its mates are revealed, does not betray the full measure of its weakness, which is easily condoned if the vigorous close combines surprise with the impression of inevitability. In such sequences we may generally infer, when dealing with a skilful practitioner, that the last thought expressed is the one that came to him first, whereas the earlier expressed idea was a later and subsidiary development. In *terza rima*, however, which goes on and on without real beginning or end (save at the division of canto from canto), the matter is not so simple; the third rime does, it is true, close a *terzina*, and therefore usually a phrase, but it immediately follows the introduction of a fresh interest with a new rime. A conflict of principles is therefore to be expected in the *Divina Commedia*.

Dante, like other forceful poets, prefers to end a verse with its most important word. This word is not infrequently a proper name. For instance, *Bruggia* calls forth the antecedent *aduggia* and the closing *fuggia* of Inf. XV, 6. *Aràbi* in Par. VI, 49, as well as *labi*, is suggested by *Fabi*.

Once and again Dante seems to have taken the bull by the horns in a spirit of pure bravado, and wrenched the accent to make it conform to his leading word. *Burli*, after attracting the easy *urli*, forces *pur li* into line (Inf. VII, 28). So *poltre* summons not only the ineresting *oltre* but the refractory *sol tre* (Purg. XXIV. 133). Dante's predecessors sometimes did similar things. Less obvious is the reason for the insertion of *almen tre* (Purg. XIX, 34) between *ventre* and *entre*. In Par. V the beautiful image of the *annidi* accounts for *di'di'* (122) beside *ridi*. Of such liberty taken with the accent I have noted ten cases.

Of another liberty, the reduction of a double consonant to a single one, I have observed fifteen. *Parlòmi*

(Purg. XIV, 76) seems to depend on the preceding *nomi* rather than on the following *vuo' mi*. In the sequence *perdèsi* (Purg. XIX, 122), *presi*, *distesi*, the last word apparently came first to mind ; then, perhaps, the second. The series *cielo*, *ne lo* (Par. XI, 13), *candelo* suggests the order 1, 3, 2. Whether *voto* or *loto* is responsible for the *galeoto* of Inf. VIII, 17, we cannot tell. In palliation of similar violations of Florentine usage it may be recalled that the spelling of double consonants was variable and that many northern dialects had actually made the simplification in pronunciation; in some cases, indeed, the forms with one consonant may really have been current in Tuscany. In a few instances, on the other hand, a single consonant is doubled : *femmi* for *mi feci* in Purg. XXXI, 89 ; *compiacemmi*, first person, in Par. XV, 88.

From the outset we must beware of over hasty conclusions. Sometimes a seemingly distorted word may be simply a Latinism, as the *dubi* of Par. XXIII, 97, riming with *ubi* and *cherubi*. A real and less comprehensible distortion may, indeed, occasionally be due to a customary mispronunciation of a Latin word : so *Pisistràto* in Purg. XV, 101, riming with *temperato* and *condannato* ; so *indige* of Par. XXXIII, 133, mated with *effige* and *affige* ; so *Baco* (coupled with *Benaco* and *laco*) in Inf. XX, 59, and *Parnaso* in Par. I, 116. In Par. XXIV, 113, we have *Dio laudamo*, a close reproduction of the Latin *Te Deum Laudamus*, introducing both the unobtrusive *appressavamo* and the strange figure of the *ramo*. At other times we find evidence of an Italian usage different from the present one : for example, *tenèbra* (Par. XXIX, 65), *alchímia* and *scímia* (Inf. XXIX, 137, 139).

I have found, by the way, some ninety rime words that were certainly or probably felt as Latinisms in the poet's day : such as *rui* (Inf. XX, 33), copied from the

ruis of the corresponding episode in the *Thebaid*, and subsequent *rua* (Par. XXX, 82); *ita* (Inf. XXI, 42), riming with *Santa Zita*; *cunta* (Purg. XXXI, 4), riming with *punta* and *congiunta*; *velle* (Par IV, 25 and XXXIII, 143); *intenza* (Par. XXIV, 75); *nulla volontade è di più ausa*, in Par. XXXII, 63. The *ita* belongs, no doubt, to the usage of clerks; the *intenza* (Latin *intentio*) to the philosophical style. *Cunta* seems to be a new creation from *cunctari*. Latin, no doubt, are such plurals as *bieci*, *mendici*, *piage*. Of the recorded Latinisms, two are in the *Inferno*, seven in the *Purgatorio*, eighty-one in the *Paradiso*. These proportions, and others that I shall cite presently, indicate that Dante found riming most arduous in his third and most abstruse *cantica*.

Aside from the passage written in Provençal, some thirty rime words seem to have been drawn by Dante from modern tongues outside of Italy. Such are the presumably Gallic *dispitto* (Inf. X, 36) and *rispitto* (Purg. XXX, 43). Twelve words apparently belong to non-Tuscan Italian dialects, such as *brollo*, *figo*, *satisfára*; fourteen or so (e. g *furi*, *issa*) to Tuscan dialects other than Florentine; two or three (as *introcque*) to the vulgar speech of Florence. In addition to the above, I have found 45 rare words, 10 in the *Inferno*, 10 in the *Purgatorio*, 25 in the *Paradiso*: examples are *appulcro* (Inf. VII, 80), *adre* (Purg. XXX, 54) *s'inluia* (Par. IX, 73). Parodi's list is longer, comprising, if I have counted aright, 57, of which 22 are absyolutel new. Here again is to be noted the preponderance of strangeness in the most difficult *cantica*.

Further evidence is afforded by the words used in a peculiar sense, of which I have numbered 82, four in the *Inferno*, 22 in the *Purgatorio*, 56 in the *Paradiso*. Such are *minacce* (Inf. XVII, 89) meaning « admonishments », *lasca* (Purg. XXXII, 54) signifying the constel-

lation of Pisces, the new word *mirro* (Par. VI 48) standing apparently for « I preserve » or « record ». The use of *munge* (Inf. XII, 135) to denote « drawing » tears would seem to have been necessitated by the foregoing *raggiunge* and *punge*. Having once invented this odd figure, the poet repeats it in Purg. XIII, 57; further, in Purg. XXIV, 17 and Par. XXI, 87 he uses *munta* for « drawn » without reference to tears. In a few cases the tense of a verb appears to have been affected by the exigencies of rime: *si raffronta* (Purg. XVII, 51) riming with *monta* and *pronta*; *dica* (Purg. XVI, 74), with *fatica* and *nutrica*.

In observing the inflection of verbs, I have marked 72 uncommon forms, 34 of them in the present, 21 in the preterit, 17 in other parts. The *Paradiso* has as many as the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio* together. In this list I have, of course, not included such things as final *e* corresponding to modern *i* in the first conjugation, a common termination in Dante's time. Looking at the odd forms in detail, we find that the oddest of them occupy the first place, which, as I have said, is in most verse theoretically the best : *ridure* (Par. XXVII, 89) is projected before its progenitor, *pasture*, and the latter's mate, *pinture*; similarly the obsolete and rarely matched (*tu*) *appaga* of Par. XXXI, 29, is pushed forward by *plaga* and *vaga*. Oftener, however, the peculiar one comes last, as if the poet had followed his natural bent unconstrained : so *raccògli* (*raccoglieli*, Inf. XVIII, 18), preceded by the dominant *sogli* and by *scogli* ; *satisfàra* (Par. XXI, 93), a non-Tuscan conditional, following *chiara* and *schiara*; *ridui* (*riduci*, Par. XXII, 21), after the colorless *colui* and *altrui*. Sometimes, but less often, the strange form occupies the second position, the poet having worked ahead from the first verse, as in *desse, venesse* (*venisse*, Inf. I, 46), or back from the third, as in *regge, regge* (*rieda*, Inf.

X, 82) *legge*. These are characteristic specimens. Let me cite in full one more example, one in which a Sienese-Umbrian form *crese* (*credette*, Purg. XXXII, 32), comes first, having evidently been suggested by the final word of the set, *scese*, which controls the situation:

Sí passegiando l'alta selva vota
(Colpa di quella ch' al serpente *crese*),
Temprava i passi un' angelica nota.
Forse in tre voli tanto spazio prese
Disfrenata saetta quanto eramo
Rimossi, quando Beatrice scese.

Unusual noun and adjective endings occur in my count, to the number of 21, four in the *Inferno*, six in the *Purgatorio*, eleven in the *Paradiso*. Among these it is interesting to compare *fece*, *biece* (Inf. XXV, 31), *diece* with *fece*, *biece* (Par. VI, 136), *diece* and with *bieci* (Par. V, 65) *feci*, *greci*, in all of which cases the *fece* or *feci* apparently gave the start. Another curious comparison is that of *image*, *t'adage*, *piage* (Purg. XXV, 30) with *image*, *plage* (Par. XIII, 4), *compage*, where *image* set the pace. In *nimici*, *benefici*, *mendici* (Par. XVII, 90) we have the order, 1, 2, 3, as in the two ensuing cases, which show a masculine plural form in *e*: *pienamente*, *spente*, *dolente* (Purg. XV, 81); *gente*, *mente*, *presente* (Par. XVII, 91). Another order of conception, 1, 3, 2, seems to be illustrated by *dolce*, *soffolce*, *bobolce* (Par. XXIII, 132); and also by the following passage, which introduces the rather archaic *trei*:

« E se non fosse il foco che saetta
La natura del loco, io dicerei
Che meglio stesse a te che a lor la fretta. »
Ricominciar, come noi ristemmo, ei
L'antico verso; e quando a noi fur giunti,
Fenno una rota di sè tutti e *trei*.

Thus far we have been considering the relations of single words, a useful preparatory exercise. Let us now pass on to the more interesting consideration of larger units. In the whole poem there are six phrases that impress me as distinctly forced and clumsy, their awkwardness (if I am right) being due to the difficulties of the rime.

Two of these constructions are contained in the closing lines of one passage (Purg. XIX, 46-51):

Con l'ali aperte, che parean di cigno,
Volseci in su colui che sì parlonne,
Tra due pareti del duro macigno.
Mosse le penne poi e ventilonne,
« *Qui lugent* » *affermando esser beati*,
Ch'avran di consolar l'anime donne.

The phrasing of the last line seems to depend on the pretty *ventilonne*, while the structure of the next-to-last is perhaps determined by a desire to use *beati* at the end.

In Purg. XXI, 79-81, the closing clause (as well as the last clause of the first line) is apparently suggested by the vivid term *scalappia* which precedes:

Ora chi fosti, piacciati ch'io sappia;
E perchè tanti secoli giaciuto
Qui sei, *nelle parole tue mi cappia.*

In Purg. XXXII, 69,

Ma qual vuol sia, che l'assonnar ben finga,

we may see the influence of the central proper name, *Siringa*, and of the naturally ensuing *pinga*. For the construction one may compare « E sia qual vuol che s'arme » in the poem *Sì sottilmente*, attributed to Fazio degli Uberti.

Purg. XXXII, 73-78 presents an extraordinarily complicated structure:

Quale veder dei fioretti del melo
Che del suo pomo gli angeli fa ghiotti
E perpetue nozze fa nel cielo
Pietro e Giovanni e Jacopo condotti,
E vinti ritornaro alla parola
Dalla qual furon maggior sonni rotti...

Here I am inclined to think that the first suggestion came from a preceding *velo*, which led to the Biblical figure of the *melo*, thence to the *ghiotti* and the rest of the scheme, with its effective closing line.

In Par. XX, 25,

Così, rimosso d'aspettare indugio,

the blame for the strained expression is to be laid upon the picturesque rime words *pertugio* and *bugio*.

The curious distortions of Matthew V, 6, « Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt justitiam, » in Purg. XXII, 4-6 and XXIV, 151-154, involve a factor other than rime, the need of making one Beatitude serve two different purposes.

Not awkward, but unnatural (to my mind) is the *fa volerne* of Par. III, 71, which seems to have been called forth by the essential *superne* :

Frate, la nostra volontà quieta
Virtù di carità, che *fa volerne*
Sol quel ch'avemo, e d'altro non ci asseta.
Se disiassimo esser più superne,
Foran discordi li nostri disiri
Dal voler di Colui che qui ne cerne.

Both awkward and obscure I should call Par. XXIX, 37-41 :

Ieronimo vi scrisse lungo tratto
Di secoli degli angeli creati
Anzi che l'altro mondo fosse fatto.

This impresses one as having been conceived in Latin rather than in Italian : *degli angeli creati* is

nothing but *post angelos creatos*. The violation of Italian usage cannot be ascribed to be subsequent mates of *creati* (*lati* and *agguati*), for these could easily have been avoided. We must look for the cause in the *tratto* series, the first member of which, *atto*, just preceding our citation, drew forth *fatto*; and the two together produced *tratto* with its train.

The same course of development seems to have been followed in Par. XIX, 46:

E ciò fa certo che il primo superbo,
Che fu la somma d'ogni creatura.
Per non aspettar lume cadde acerbo,

a sentence that is worse than ambiguous, for nobody would ever suspect, without close study, that *ciò* is object and the clause *che il primo superbo* etc., subject. Here the apparent starting point is an antecedent *verbo*, which drew to it *acerbo*, then *superbo*. But even with these rimes the poet might have made himself clear; why he did not is a mystery.

A purpose, other than metrical, may be found in two passages in which the natural order of events is transposed, Par. II, 23-24,

E forse in tanto in quanto un quadrel posa
E vola e della noce si dischiava,

and Par. XXII, 109-110,

Tu non avresti in tanto tratto e messo
Nel fuoco il dito,

where the inversion gives an impression of simultaneousness. Even here the idea may originally have been suggested by the rime — *cosa* and *ascosa* in the one case, *spesso* and *esso* in the other.

For certain other transpositions, six in all, no cause but rime is apparent. The giant of Inf. XXXI, 87 has his arms bound

Dinanzo l'altro e dietro il braccio destro

because *balestro* has gone before, leading *maestro*. The inconspicuous inversion of Purg. XVII, 59,

Chè quale aspetta prego e l'uopo vede,

looks forward to *riede*, with *piede* between. Another harmless shift of the logical order, in Purg. XXIV, 135,

Come fan bestie spaventate e poltre,

is apparently to be laid at the door of such a commonplace word as the preceding *oltre*, which makes itself responsible also for the eccentric *sol tre*.

La mente tua guarda e riceve,

in Purg. XVV, 35, lies under the shadow of a coming *beve*.

Nè tra l'ultima notte e il primo die,

Par. VII, 112, owes its transposition to the important *vie* that goes before. The combined force of a preceding *melode* and *lode* is enough to account for Par. XIV, 126 :

Colui che non intende ed ode.

In this last case, as in the second in this paragraph, the order is logical enough if we give to « and » the significance of « although », which it sometimes has, both in English and in Italian :

Vedi che non increscе a me, ed ardo (Inf. XXVII, 24).

We now come to the most attractive part of our adventure, the exploration of figures of speech. First we shall inspect a score that are curiously obscure — one in the *Inferno*, six in the *Purgatorio*, and, as we are not surprised to discover, thirteen in the *Paradiso*. In

some of these the suggestion of the rime is obvious. The culminating *inghiottissi* leads to the fanciful

> La bella donna nella braccia aprissi

of Purg. XXXI, 100. Thus the essential *vóto*, coupled with *vòto*, induces the playful

> « Non ti maravigliar perch'io sorride, »
> Mi disse, « appresso il tuo pueril coto, »

Par. III, 25-26. In Par. XII, 1-3,

> Sì tosto come l'ultima parola
> La benedetta fiamma per dir tolse,
> A rotar cominciò la santa mola,

the puzzling *per dir tolse* seems to have felt the coming *volse*, which contains the main idea, and commandeers an unwilling *colse*.

A wellnigh hopeless problem is set by Par. XII, 115-117 :

> La sua famiglia, che si mosse dritta
> Coi piedi alle sue orme, è tanto volta
> Che quel dinanzi a quel diretro gitta.

In this passage the thought centres on *derelitta*, just before, which prepares the way for *dritta*, and then, Heaven only knows how, for *gitta*. The *derelitta* sentence itself offers a puzzle scarcely less baffling, and less plainly instigated by rime:

> Ma l'orbita che fe' la parte somma
> Di sua circonferenza è derelitta,
> Si ch'è la muffa dov'era la gromma,

Par. XII, 112-114, which perhaps owes its apparently superfluous *parte somma* to the poet's eagerness to reach his *gromma*.

May we give to *divo* and *scrivo* credit (we can hardly give it to *preghe* or *disleghe*) for the startling technical metaphor,

Chè l'imagine nostra a cotai pieghe,
Non che il parlare, è troppo color vivo

of Par. XXIV, 26-27? Or shall we blame the foregoing *loquela intera*, possibly abetted by *maraviglia* or *famiglia*, for the disturbingly incomplete speech of Par. XXVII, 136-138?

Così si fa la pelle bianca, nera,
Nel primo aspetto, della bella figlia
Di quei ch'apporta mane e lascia sera.

Can *donna* and *gonna* account for the mysterious 139th line of Par. XXXII?

Ma perchè il tempo fugge che t'assonna.

However this may be, neither *disviluppe* nor *ruppe*, both of which could easily have been replaced by other terms, can reconcile us to the riddle of Purg. XXXIII, 36:

Che vendetta di Dio non teme suppe.

That other tiresome puzzle of the *torna* in Par. IX, 106-108,

Qui si rimira nell'arte che adorna
Con tanto affetto, e discernesi il bene
Per che il mondo di su quel di giù torna,

finds no adequate defense in the preceding *colpa ch'a mente non torna*. The whimsical astronomy of Par. VIII, 12,

Che il sol vagheggia or da coppa or da ciglio,

would seem to need more distinctive support than *figlio*. Neither *armi* nor *parlarmi* affords a sufficient ground for the *marmi* in Inf. XVII, 6:

Vicino al fin de' passeggiati marmi.

Nothing in the poem is more charmingly elusive than

Là dove armonizzando il ciel t'adombra
Quando nell'aere aperto ti solvesti,

Purg. XXXI, 144-145 ; no *ombra*, no *ingombra* even, can quite explain it to us.

Perhaps neither *terra* nor *erra* had been equal to the task of supplying the *guerra* of Purg. XX, 145-146,

Nulla ignoranza mai con tanta guerra
Mi fe' desideroso di sapere,

had not the sound of one of them (probably the first) reminded the poet of a phrase in the Book of Wisdom: « in magno viventes inscientiæ bello. »

Sometimes it seems as if Dante (who, it must be remembered, was a pioneer in his art) had been indulging a sheer love of extravagance. Surely a modest *molti* cannot be held responsible for Par. XIII, 127-129 :

Si fe' Sabellio ed Arrio e quegli stolti
Che furon come spade alle Scritture
In render torti li diritti volti.

At the end of Par. XI, 137-139, the poet had to introduce his key-word, *vaneggia*, but he could have done it in a dozen ways more intelligible than

Perchè vedrai le pianta onde si scheggia,
E vedrai il coregger, che argomenta ;
U' ben s'impingua, se non si vaneggia.

Between Par. XI and Par. XII there is a curious structural correspondence, evidently intentional, though not obtrusive. Perhaps, then, for the sake of symmetry, the author, having put a puzzle at the close of XI, sets another at the end of XII (142-125):

Ad inveggiar cotanto paladino
Mi mosse la infiammata cortesia
Di fra Tommaso, e il discreto latino
E mosse meco questa compagnia.

This second riddle, to be sure, is not quite so desperate as the first, and seems to have been attuned to the proper name Gioacchino.

In a few instances a violent figure is used to suggest the delirium of passion: so Purg. XX, 90,

> E tra vivi ladroni esser anciso,

and Purg. XX, 93,

> Porta nel tempio le cupide vele,

where, nevertheless, the forms of the metaphor may have been influenced by *deriso* and *fele*. Religious ecstasy is felt in the mystical phrasing of Par. XIII, 78-81, which, however, may owe its shaping, in part, to *artista* and *pregna*:

> Però se il caldo Amor la chiara Vista
> Della prima Virtù dispone e segna,
> Tutta la perfezion quivi s'acquista.

My concluding list comprises figures of speech which, though their meaning is transparent, are so remote from ordinary modes of thought as to justify a doubt of their spontaneous generation. Ten of these are culled from the *Purgatorio*, twenty from the *Paradiso*. Some of them defend themselves successfully against the imputation of external influence.

> Qui si ribatte il mal tardato remo,

in Purg. XVII, 87, needs no support from *semo* and *scemo*.

> Ma tosto fien li fatti le Naiade,

Purg. XXXIII, 49, contains in itself the key to the image, *Naiade*, which is more likely to have evoked *persuade* and *biade* than to have been evoked by them. Similarly the « ford » in

Sí che poi sappi sol tener lo guado,

Par. II, 126, impresses one as being independent of *grado* and *vado*.

In two instances a word has awakened a fortunate reminiscence. *Lingue*, whether or not suggested by *estingue*, brings back the hymn,

Vas sincerum, granum pingue
Bibit lac cœlestis linguæ

and this conducts the poet to

Se mo sonasser tutte quelle lingue
Che Polinnia con le suore fero
Del latte lor dolcissimo più pingue,

Par. XXIII, 55-57. In Par. XXIX, 21, the Biblical figure of the Spirit of God moving upon the face of the waters depends on the keyword *giacque*, two lines above.

Sometimes, of course, we are left in complete doubt. Was the original fabrication of verbs from pronouns a process that developed from within, or was it in the first place suggested by a rime ? Is *s'abbuia* a sufficiently essential word, with the possible help of *trastulla* and *cuculla*, to be credited with a share in Par. IX, 73-75,

« Dio vede tutto, e tuo voler s'inluia »,
Diss'io, « beato spirto, sì che nulla
Voglia di sè a te puote esser fuia, »

whose closing *fuia* is itself too odd to be held responsible ?

Reddissi al frutto dell' italica erba,

Par. XI, 105, seems almost as likely to have created itself as to have been begotten by *superba*, with the possible assistance of *acerba*. The daring figure of the book in Par. XXXIII, 85-87, may have induced *eterna*,

with *costume* and *lume*, or may have been induced by them :

Nel suo profondo vidi che s'interna,
Legato con amore in un volume,
Ciò che per l'universo si squaderna.

Trascorso, with the succor of *soccorso*, might be regarded as the beginning of

Disse : « Volgiti in qua ! Vedine due
Venire, dando all'accidia di morso »,

in Purg. XVIII, 131-132, were it not that the figure of biting is of rather frequent recurrence, though by no means such a favorite as shooting at a target or untying a knot. For Par. VI, 94-95,

E quando il dente longobardo morse
La santa Chiesa,

corse and *soccorse* offer good support. Less probable factors are *torse* and *porse* in

Nulla giammai si giustamente morse,

Par. VII, 42. A more startling use of the metaphor, so uncalled for that one is tempted to ascribe it unhesitatingly to the combined influence of *concorde* and *altre corde*, is that of Par. XXVI, 51.

Con quanti denti questo amore ti morde.

It is odd that Dante, who apparently thought so little of dogs, and so seldom mentions them, should not only have applied to humanity the canine habit of barking (as he does at least three times), but should also have evinced such interest in the doglike practice of biting.

The last example cited shows two rime words converging on the metaphor. So it is with the Latin-Italian of Par. XX, 105,

Quel de' passuri e quel de' passi piedi,

which seems to require both *vedi* and *credi*. Lifting the eyes up unto the hills is familiar in Dante and elsewhere, but the idea of the weight of the same hills bowing down the eyes is so abnormal that we are inclined to bring both *mondo* and *secondo* into play in Par. XXV, 38-39 :

...ond'io levai gli occhi ai monti
Che gl' incurvaron pria col troppo pondo.

For the unwintering of January in Par. XXVII, 142, we need the union of *governi* and *superni*, and even that is not enough :

Ma prima che gennaio tutto si sverni...

S'accorda and *si ricorda*, both containing *corda*, may account for the comparatively mild figure of Par. XXVIII, 12 :

Onde a pigliarmi fece Amor la corda.

A passage may bear in itself the germ of its imagery. In Par. XVIII, 28-30, the final *foglia* suggests not only its own figures, but also the very curious one of the first line and the less peculiar one of the second ; and we need not appeal to *soglia* nor to *prima* and *opima* :

Ei comincio : « In questa quinta soglia
Dell' albero che vive della cima
E frutta sempre e mai non perde foglia... »

Marte was probably the starting point of the extravagant figure of Par. XXVII, 13-15 :

E tal nella sembianza sua divenne
Qual diverrebbe Giove, s'egli e Marte
Fossero augelli e cambiassersi penne.

But the mix-up would not have occurred if *divenne* had not been in it also, possibly deriving from an antecedent *venne*. Similarly the homely vigor of

Di questo ingrassa il porco Sant'Antonio,

Par. XXIX, 124, is due to *Sant'Antonio*, who may or may not owe his presence to *testimonio*. In the graceful image of Par. XXXI, 18,

Ch'egli acquistavan ventilando il fianco,

the primary word is *fianco*, probably drawn into the verse by *bianco* and *banco*.

One of the most amusing « rhetorical colors » is the reference to black Jacob and red Esau, as stock examples of predestination, in Par. XXXII, 70-72 :

Però secondo il color dei capelli
Di cotal grazia, l'altissimo lume
Degnamente convien che s'incappelli.

Here the nucleus of the thought is *capelli*, which naturally follows *gemelli*; but the fashioning of the latter part depends somewhat on the consciousness of *costume* and *acume* to come. Whether the Lord gave Esau red hair because he hated him, or hated him because he had red hair, is a question for theologians.

Occasionally a proper name stands out as the first cause. I suspect *Roma* of complicity in

Del mio carcar deposto avea la soma,

Purg. XVIII, 84. *Bonagiunta* must take some responsibility for

Qui non si vieta
Di nominar ciascun, da ch'è sì munta
Nostra sembianza via per la dieta,

Purg. XXIV, 16-18, and for the unexpected epithet *trapunta*; but *lieta* comes in for a share. For Par. XVI, 69,

Come del corpo il cibo che s'appone,

we must look to *Acone*. The ingeniously derisive phrase in Par. XIX, 120,

Quei che morrà di colpo di cotenna,

probably had its birth in the search for a rime to *Senna*.

In the remaining specimens, a single external rime word seems to have started the train. Thus *corre* appears to have led the poet's mind to the disconcerting metaphor of Purg. XVI, 95-96 :

Convenne rege aver che discernesse
Della vera cittade almen la torre.

Voglia, the important word, determines

E dell' assenso de' tener la soglia,

Purg. XVIII, 63, and imposes a new meaning on *raccoglia*. *Monte* brings with it the description of Dante's attitude in Purg. XIX, 42,

Che fa di sè un mezzo arco di ponte,

which corroborates Boccaccio's portrait (unless Boccaccio got the pose from this passage !). The incongruous image in Purg. XXII, 43-44,

Allor m'accorsi che troppo aprir l'ali
Potean le mani a spendere....

we must attribute to *mortali*, which starts the series.

There is a whimsically commercial figure in Purg. XXVII, 67.

E di pochi scaglion levammo i saggi,

which seems out of place, and which, I believe, Dante would not have introduced, had he not been in straits for a rime. He had started with *raggi*, the fundamental note of the marvelous picture ; and he had selected, to close the sequence, *saggi*, « sages » or « poets ». For the intervening place, in which he was to convey the

idea of tentatively ascending a few stairs, he boldly chose the metaphor of « taking samples ».

Now that we have taken samples, more than a few, all along the line, what have we found out? That Dante followed no fixed principle with reference to quality in the arrangement of his rimes; that he allowed himself considerable latitude in inflections, vocabulary, meanings, and metaphors : these are minor fruits of our quest. After all, the amazing thing is that Dante, having, in his own language, such extraordinarily meagre poetic tradition to guide him, should have been so strict with himself, so consistent, so unremittingly conscientious an artist. With a long ancestry of versifiers, I may draw upon the varied store of centuries. I may write *are* or *be*, *spake* or *spoke*, *distraught* or *distracted* ; I may rime *again* with *pain* or with *pen*, *been* with *seen* or with *sin* (or even with *pen*), *heaven* with *seven* or with *given* ; and so on indefinitely. We moderns profit by the precedents of many lands and ages. We have at our disposal not only the earnest efforts, but also the whims and vagaries of countless forebears. Dante had to create his own medium and his own standards : and he achieved an unsurpassed union of sobriety and richness.

The real value of such an inspection as the foregoing lies in the reinforcement of one's appreciation of Dante's indomitable resourcefulness and audacity. Let us watch him. He has picked out his keyword, the word containing the central idea of the passage ; this word, of course, must stand in the rime, in the first, second, or third place, as occasion may require. A second rime word suggests itself, carrying out the proposed idea. To find a third rime word that shall fit into the pattern of the thought, between the other two, or before or after, is a difficult, often a discouraging task. An ordinary rimester, after sundry abort-

ive attempts, would throw up the sponge and adopt a different rime scheme, weaker but easier. Not so Dante. He clings to his plan like grim death; he tries every possibility, near or remote, that his teeming brain can suggest, until at last his pertinacity gets its reward, and the whole phrase comes into being, sturdy, fresh, colorful, concise.

La rime est une esclave et ne doit qu'obéir.

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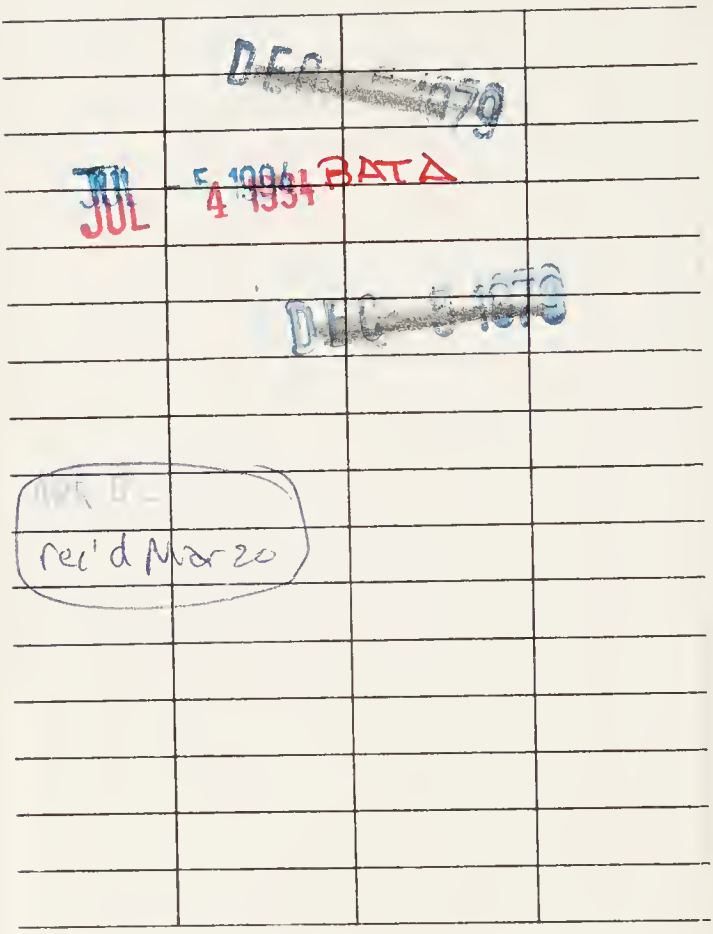

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